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**Community participation and social capital
in tourism planning and management
in a Thai context**

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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by
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Abstract

Community participation and Social capital in tourism planning and management in a Thai context

Community participation is now widely accepted as one important condition to achieve sustainable tourism development. The twelve aims of sustainable tourism determined by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) emphasises the significance of destination community, for example, local control, local prosperity and community well-being. This is because local people are the effected groups who are most directly impacted by tourism. Based on literature, generally community participation in developing countries appears to be at a low level, particularly in participation in tourism planning and decision making which largely affects community participation in tourism operation and management, and receiving benefits. Literature also reveals several obstacles impeding community participation. Therefore, this research aims to explore how community participation works in Thailand. Although the tourism industry in Thailand has grown enormously and rapidly within the last five decades, benefits from tourism are mostly restricted to large enterprises while local people participate at low levels and gain very little despite being burdened with negative impacts of tourism in their respective communities.

This research explored issues surrounding community participation in tourism in two case study communities; Koh Samet, a community at the ‘consolidation stage’ of Butler’s Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC), and Mae Kam Pong, a community at the ‘involvement’ stage of the TALC. Forms of community participation are assessed through three issues: participation in tourism planning and decision making; participation in tourism operation and management, and participation in benefits from tourism. Both qualitative methods (interviews, participant observation) and quantitative methods (surveys) were employed to collect data from two case study communities.

‘Social capital’ was a central concept utilised to examine community participation in tourism development. This concept has been widely used in many fields at the community level, for example public health and natural resource management, however, there are few studies exploring the relationship of social capital and community tourism development. The literature that does exist suggests that communities with high levels of social capital are more likely to have extensive community participation in tourism development.

Findings from the Thai context show that community participation in tourism decision making is evidenced from the low to the high rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation. This research explains what makes community participation different based on three themes. The first theme is that community participation in tourism development may be influenced by the social capital. The findings reveal that social capital is significantly associated with community participation in tourism development; however, social capital alone may not be sufficient to foster effective community participation in tourism development in these communities. It is argued that power relations and cultural factors appear to have a strong influence on community participation. The second theme is that communities at different stages of tourism development tend to have different levels of forms of participation. It seems promoting a high level of community participation may be easier when tourism is at the initial stage of development, but becomes more difficult as communities shift to later stages in the TALC. A process to monitor community participation over time is vitally required to ensure the balance of power within the community which appears to be a significant condition to achieve genuine community participation. Lastly, the levels and forms of community participation are likely to occur at a higher level at the communities where tourism is developed as community-based, rather than mass tourism. These findings may have important implications for ensuring genuine community participation in tourism development in other parts of Thailand, and perhaps the developing world.

Keywords: community participation, community tourism, social capital, participation in developing countries, and Thai tourism

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List of Acronyms

CBT-I	Thailand Community Based-Tourism Institute
CDD	Community Development Department
CODI	Community Organization Development Institute
CPinTD	Community Participation in Tourism Development
DASTA	Designated Areas for Sustainable Tourism Administration
DOT	Department of Tourism
DMCR	Department of Marine and Coastal Resources
DNP	Department of National Parks, Wildlife and Plant Conservation
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HKTA	Hauy Kaew Thambon Administrative Authority
IAP	International Association for Public Participation
LSNP	Kao Lam Ya-Koh Samet National Park
MKPREC	Mae Kam Pong Royal Project Electricity Cooperative
MOTS	Ministry of Tourism and Sports
MRCSG	Marine Resources and Coastal Koh Samet Conservation Group
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
OPDC	Public Sector Development Commission of Thailand
OTOP	One Thambon One Product
OVC	OTOP Village Champion
PEA	Provincial Electricity Authority
PTAA	Phe Thambon Administrative Authority
SCCNO	Samet Conservation Community Network Organization
STD	Sustainable Tourism Development
TALC	Tourism Area Life Cycle
TAA	Thambon Administrative Authority
TAT	Tourism Authority of Thailand
TD	Treasury Department
TRF	Thailand Research Fund
TVS	Thai Volunteer Service
UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
VTC	Village Tourism Committee

Glossary of Thai words

<i>Ao</i>	Bay
<i>Baht</i>	Thai currency (31.7270 Baht / 1 US\$ dollar and 22.8335 Baht / 1 NZ\$ (2010 average rate, Bank of Thailand)
<i>Ban</i>	Village
<i>Doi</i>	Mountain
<i>Hauy</i>	Creek
<i>Koh</i>	Island
<i>Lanna</i>	Northern Thai culture
<i>Rai</i>	Thai measurement unit of land (1 Rai = 1,600 square metre)

Chapter 1

Introduction

Many developing countries perceive tourism as an effective mean to boost economic growth by increasing employment and bringing more income to local communities. However, it is doubtful how much local people benefit from tourism. Most local communities have few opportunities and limited potential to invest and operate tourism businesses by themselves. Observations from Malaysia reveal that benefit from tourism development have tended to by-pass local people in favour of entrepreneurs who come from outside (Din, 1997). Consequently, outside investors are often the main tourism actors who dominate tourism development in many local destinations. This situation has also occurred in Thailand as Kaosa-ard (1994, p. 23) mentions:

The explosion of tourism has brought uneven distribution of financial benefits, in favour of large enterprises, while costs are shouldered by local people who have no direct gain from tourist promotion.

Mass tourism - the conventional form of tourism development - often emphasises maximising economic benefits while ignoring the social and community aspects of tourism development (Macbeth, Carton & Northcote, 2004) This is particularly so in developing countries, which often lack sufficient or appropriate means to protect their natural resources and local eco-systems from the pressures of mass tourism (Neto, 2003). Furthermore, the rapid growth of mass tourism in developing countries, often without appropriate planning, has resulted in many other problems, including excessive foreign dependency, the creation of separate enclaves, the reinforcement of existing socio-economic and spatial inequalities and rising cultural alienation (Brohman, 1996).

1.1 The concept of sustainable tourism development

The concept of sustainable tourism development (STD) has emerged over the last few decades. Negative impacts attributed to the tourism industry are creating significant pressure on tourism stakeholders to change the traditional ways they manage tourism to be more sustainable. A stakeholder means anyone who has a stake in what happens (Wilcox, 1994). The need to promote and implement sustainable tourism development

is one of the main issues in the implementation plan adopted at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), in 2002. The aims of sustainable tourism development are:

To increase the benefits from tourism resources for the population in host communities while maintaining the cultural and environmental integrity of the host communities and enhancing the protection of ecologically sensitive areas and natural heritages (United Nations, 2002, p.33).

In “Making Tourism More Sustainable: a Guide for Policy Makers”, a guideline developed by the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and UNWTO in 2005, sustainable tourism is defined as:

Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and the host communities (United Nations Environment Programme [UNEP] & World Tourism Organization [UNWTO], 2005, p.12).

From these definitions, it can be seen that the concept of STD places more emphasis on ‘host communities’ as one focus of the development. To achieve sustainable tourism development, host communities need to be benefited while their cultural and environmental integrity need to be maintained.

1.1.1 The twelve aims of sustainable tourism

The twelve aims of sustainable tourism promoted by UNEP (Figure 1.1) are based on three pillars of sustainable development: environmental, social and economic. There are both tangible (e.g. community well-being) and intangible aims (e.g. cultural richness).

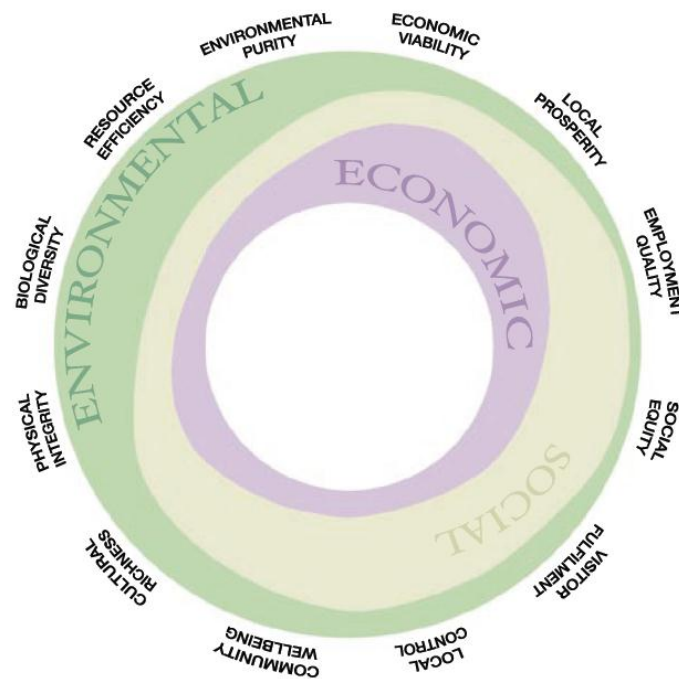


Figure 1.1 Twelve aims of sustainable tourism

Source: From (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005, p. 20)

Tosun (2000) argues that to achieve the goals of sustainability, planning and development must be undertaken at a grass-roots level and involve a wide range of stakeholders in the development process. To ensure STD occurs, all stakeholders must be involved in tourism development which includes national and local governments, tour operators, developers, travel agents, workers, and NGOs as well as the host communities and tourists. Each stakeholder group has to play its role in STD implementation. Among these stakeholders, the host community is the most important element in tourism development because they live at the destination, are part of the destination and they are directly affected, both positively and negatively, by tourism impacts in their local areas. If tourism development and planning does not fit with community aspirations and capacity, then resistance and hostility can occur that negatively affects the hospitality atmosphere, and, in the long term can, eventually destroy tourism at the destination (Murphy, 1985; Simmons, 1994).

To achieve STD, local communities need to be involved in each of the environmental, social and economic pillars, albeit, at different levels and with differing forms of involvement. However, implementing community participation in tourism

development does not ensure sustainable tourism development occurs. It is important to define which sustainable development principles can be implemented through community control, and what need to be implemented, by working with higher level stakeholders (Woodley, 1993). Therefore, community participation is the essential ingredient to achieving STD, but STD cannot be fully achieved by community participation alone. There is a need for collaboration among the relevant stakeholders to create STD.

1.2 Community participation in the tourism context

Originally, the notion of participation emerged in political science; in a traditional democratic theory it is about political activity, civic duty and individual rights (Tosun, 2005). However, participation in development is far more than the political right to vote in elections. The United Nations Economic and Social Council Resolution 1929 (LVIII) states the concept of participation in development as follows:

Participation requires the voluntary and democratic involvement of people in (a) contributing to the development effort (b) sharing equitably in benefits derived there from and (c) decision-making in respect of setting goals, formulating policies and planning and implementing economic and social development programs (Midgley, 1986a, p. 25).

A participation concept is widely used in many fields of development including tourism. Tosun (2000) writes that the definition of community participation in the tourism development process is an adaptive and flexible paradigm that allows local communities, in various tourist destinations at different levels of development, to participate in the decision making process of tourism development, including sharing benefits from tourism development and determining the type and scale of tourism development in their localities. Similarly, Drake (1991) explains that local communities can participate in ecotourism projects at each stage of development including planning, implementation and sharing benefits. Participation in the planning process includes identifying problems, formulating alternatives, planning activities and allocating resources. Participation in the implementation stage includes managing and operating the development programme or activities. Sharing benefits means that the local communities receive economic, social, political and cultural benefits from the project, either individually or collectively (Drake, 1991).

Therefore, based on literature above the scope of community participation in this research includes participation in tourism decision making or planning where people participate in the thinking process; participation in tourism operation and management where people are involved by taking actions in operating tourism activities; and participation in benefits from tourism where people have a share in tourism benefits.

Regarding the term of 'community', in a general sense, there are two major uses of the term community. The first use refers to the territorial or geographical notion of community (that is, referring to neighbourhood, town, and city for example), while the second use refers to the relational notion concerning with quality of character of human relationship, without reference to location (Gusfield, 1975 as cited in McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler and Tipton (1985 as cited in Rovai, 2002 p. 4) define community as:

A group of people who are socially interdependent, who participate together in discussion and decision making, and who share certain practices that both define the community and are nurtured by it.

In the field of tourism, the term 'community' should not be defined by its territory alone but by events where people gather together and share issues about tourism. Basically, although tourism occurs in a destination or host community, there always are many stakeholders beyond the people who live in the community involved in tourism or affected by its impacts. In this research, a community refers to 'destination community'. The 'destination community' is defined as the location, together with their natural and human elements, where tourist experiences take place and where the tourism product is produced (Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003, p. 10). Bosselman and his colleagues (1999 as cited in Singh et al., 2003) explain the term 'host community' to mean all persons and public and private bodies who are potentially affected, both positively and negatively, by the impacts of tourism development within the boundaries of the destination area.

In this research, tourism stakeholders involving with community participation in tourism development in a community are not defined by territory alone, but by active involvement in tourism development, whether they live in the community or elsewhere. The community thus includes local and central government authorities, and migrant business people, who are all involved with or affected by tourism

development at the destination. Table 1.1 presents community-based tourism stakeholder groups in this research.

Table 1.1 The community-based tourism stakeholder groups.

Stakeholder groups	Definitions / Examples
Native resident	People who are born in a community; they may or may not directly involve in tourism development such as local guides.
Migrant resident	People who are currently live in a community; they may or may not directly involve in tourism development such as tourism operators.
Community leaders	The village headmen, the presidents of the community organisation, the president of village tourism committee
Local government authorities	Thampon Administrative Authorities (see Chapter 4); they may or may not live in the communities.
National government authorities	National Park officials, The ministry of tourism and sport (MOTS) official; they do not live in the community.

The term ‘local people’ in this research means local residents who currently live in the community; they comprise of native and migrant residents. This research aims to explore how they can participate in tourism development and what factors support their participation because they are often the powerless and have less participation in tourism development (Mair & Reid, 2007).

1.2.1 The significance of community participation in sustainable tourism development

Local community participation is a widely accepted criterion of sustainable tourism development (Cole, 2006). Therefore, to ensure effective utilization of local resources, local people should be involved in deciding the objectives and strategies as well as participating in the implementation.

There are many reasons and arguments presented for community participation in tourism development. First, local people are influenced both positively and negatively

by tourism impacts in their communities; they should have rights to participate in the planning of activities that affect their daily lives as a general principle for democratic countries (Simmons, 1994). Haywood (1988) stated that one benefit of community involvement in tourism planning is to increase the chance of ameliorating the detrimental impacts associated with tourism. Second, residents are increasingly being seen as an essential part of the 'hospitality atmosphere' of an area (Simmons, 1994). Involvement with tourism may create local satisfaction and encourage local people to support tourism activities. In this way, Hardy, Beeton and Pearson (2002) state that community involvement in the development process tends to lessen any feelings of alienation and opposition to tourism development, leading to better cooperation in the implementation of the developing projects.

Third, a local community is more likely to know what will work and what will not under local conditions (Timothy & Tosun, 2003). According to Garrod (2003), local people can be excellent sources of information, some of which would not be available to outsiders. Arguably, local people can identify the problems and shape tourism development with a style and pace that suits their needs and aspirations. Fourth, community participation can help ensure that the benefits from tourism development will be distributed more equitably throughout the community (Brohman, 1996). Brohman (1996, p. 59) asserted that "a large proportion of the local population should benefit from tourism, rather than merely bearing the burden of its costs".

Fifth, community participation in tourism activities can increase pride in people's culture and community and also create opportunities for them to meet visitors, especially those who come from overseas, which gives them opportunities to find out about the wider world (Cole, 2006). Finally, community participation in decision-making can lead to the development of a self-reliant community; people will realize that many problems are able to be solved at a community level with the involvement of local people. Active participation not only breaks the mentality of dependence but also increases their awareness, self-confidence and control of the development process. In fact, involvement in decision-making, implementation and monitoring also helps in developing local human resources, as well (Kumar, 2002).

The fundamental concept of community participation requires a certain level of power sharing and transferring to have-not individuals (Tosun, 2005). Tosun (2000, p.614) suggests that:

Although community participation in the tourism development process (TDP) is highly desirable, there seems to be formidable operational, structural and cultural limitations to this tourism development approach in many developing countries.

There is a range of literature demonstrating the problems and limitations of community participation in tourism development (Aref & Redzuan, 2008; Cole, 2006; Jenkins, 1993; Tosun, 2000). The literature reviewed in Chapter Two suggests that there are three particular groups of obstacles to community participation in developing countries: political obstacles (such as inequitable power relations), socio-economic obstacles (such as conflicts of interest) and cultural obstacles (such as elite domination).

All these support the idea of why community participation is an important condition for achieving sustainable tourism development. However, literature above reveals a range of obstacles to community participation. This research employs the social capital concept to explore community participation in tourism development.

1.3 The role of social capital in community participation

What enables the community to work together well? Why do members in a community obey the rules and cooperate? The concept of social capital is used in this thesis to focus the analysis on these questions. Social capital theory is considered appropriate to use to analyse community participation in tourism development because it involves networks and social relationships between people, social norms, and trust. Community participation is a notion about the involvement and representation of the diverse social groups and interests of the broader community in tourism planning and management in their communities. Involving various social groups may need strong social networks, a strong norm of public concern (public consciousness) and a sense of 'belonging' in relation to the local natural resources. All these components may derive from strong social relationships in each community which can be called 'social capital' and explained or examined using social theory.

Robert D. Putnam (1993)'s work about social capital is most generally cited in contemporary political or economic sciences (Schultheis, 2009). He explains that:

Social capital...refers to features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam, 1993, p. 167).

The social capital concept is widely used at the community level in many fields of research and development, for example public health (Crosby & Holgrave, 2006; Holtgrave & Crosby, 2003), poverty reduction (Ekanayake, 2006), community development (Isham & Kahkohen, 1999; Yokoyama, 2006), political participation (Klesner, 2002), environmental policy (Danier, Takahaski & Naranong, 2002; Jones, Sophoulis, Iosifides, Botetzagias & Evangelinos, 2009; Leyden, 2003) and resource management (Li, Xu & Cheng, 2009). Currently, few studies have been conducted to examine the influence of social capital on community participation on tourism development.

One study by Jones (2005) revealed an interesting interconnection between social capital and community-based ecotourism operation in the Gambia. She suggested that a high level of social capital, manifesting in people's commitment to collective action, was instrumental in the development of an ecotourism camp. According to Putnam (1993), social capital includes 'trust', 'norms of reciprocity' and 'networks of civic engagement'. These components are important community characteristics that assist community participation in tourism development, for example, social capital can: improve a community's sense of well-being, facilitate the flow of information through a community, and facilitate coordination and cooperation allowing people to resolve collective problems (Macbeth et al., 2004) (See Chapter 2).

Therefore, the primary goal of this research is to examine the influence of social capital on community participation in tourism development by studying two communities in Thailand. It is hypothesised that a community with a high level of social capital tends to have a high level of community participation in tourism development. To achieve genuine community participation, it is important to understand impediments to community participation, particularly in developing countries.

1.4 The importance of the issue of community participation in tourism in Thailand

In the last decade (2000-2009), South East Asia (SEA) was the third biggest tourism expansion region with an average annual growth of 6.2 percent. During the same

period the global rate of tourism growth was 2.9 percent per annum (UNWTO, 2010). Thailand is one of the most prominent destination countries in SEA with arrivals increasing from 0.081 million in 1960 to 14.145 million in 2009 (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1988; UNWTO, 2010). In 2009, Thailand was the second destination in SEA after Malaysia in terms of international tourist arrivals, but was number one in terms of international tourism receipts (UNWTO, 2010).

Generally, tourism in Thailand seems to be successful in terms of generating tourism receipts to the country's overall economy. However, tourism income distribution appears to be inequitable and it is doubtful how much local people share in tourism income generated in their locality. The study by Wattanakuljarus and Coxhead (2007) reveals that tourism income distribution in Thailand provides higher proportional benefits to the high income group rather than the low income group; tourism revenue was clumped, resulting in the high income non-agriculture household group gaining a 55 percent share from an overall national tourism receipt while the low income agriculture household group gained only 14 percent.

This situation is apparent in Koh Samui – one of the most well-known destinations in Thailand. Although, tourism has brought benefits such as higher employment (limit for local people as incapable), government revenue, and foreign money it has brought prosperity mainly to entrepreneurs, with a low economic return to local communities, as most facilities such as resorts, hotels, and tour companies belong to outside investors (Pongponrat & Pongquan, 2008). Thus, the current distribution of income appears to be problematic to enabling sustainable tourism development in Thailand; it is anticipated that having genuine community participation may assist the more equitable income distribution.

In Thailand, tourism development has been dominated by bureaucrats and a particular group of private investors; local communities and adverse impacts of tourism have not received attention as an important part of development (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998; Leksakundilok, 2004). Rattanasuwongchai (1998) identifies the lack of community participation as one major constraints in rural tourism development in Thailand. However, although local communities have little share in tourism receipt they have to bear the negative impacts resulting for the increase of tourism in their area. An extreme example of the results is the killing of a family herd of elephants in May

1997. The villagers in Prachuab Khiri Khan Province poisoned an elephant watering hole and killed a family herd of rare Asian elephants in retaliation for not receiving benefits from a nature-based tourism development in the area while the elephants were causing damage to their subsistence crops (Christ, 1998). A similar example happened at Plai Pong Pang where the villagers cut down Lampoo trees, the fireflies' habitat, because speed boats carrying tourists for firefly watching eroded the river bank and were very noisy at night and disturbed the local way of life (Kanthamaturapoj, 2005). Overall, in practice local people in Thailand are seldom involved in tourism decision making, planning and implementing policies and this situation often results in less participation in tourism operation and benefits. Lack of community participation in tourism development in Thailand was evidenced in many cases of local resistance against tourism (Christ, 1998; Kanthamaturapoj, 2005; Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998).

A few studies of community participation in tourism have been conducted in Thailand. For example, Leksakundilok (2004) examined community participation in ecotourism development in Thailand, exploring local people's experiences and examining the potential, constraints or problems facing people and their participation in ecotourism development. However, ecotourism is only one form of tourism in Thailand, and is an alternative form of tourism involving a relatively small proportion of tourists (Leksakundilok, 2004). Income from ecologically wise activities (including ecotourism) was estimated about 22 percent of total income from international tourists and 25 percent of total expenses of domestic travellers (TAT, 2000).

PhD research by Wisansing (2004) proposed a community driven planning and marketing model and examined the extent to which this model is implemented in three case study locations in Thailand. Her findings revealed that despite the government tourism body – TAT- pronouncing that tourism should be developed with a greater emphasis on community participation, the actual implementation is currently non-existent (Wisansing, 2004). In addition, her findings also revealed several issues impeding the implementation of a community-driven tourism planning and marketing approach, primarily stemming from the political structure and a lack of skills and resources (Wisansing, 2004). Although Wisansing's (2004) research has revealed several impediments to the implementation of community-driven tourism planning and marketing approach the research's aims do not explore the practice of community

participation in tourism decision-making, operation and management or benefits. In addition, it may also not represent the whole picture of impediments to community participation in tourism in Thailand because of the limitations of the selected case studies. All cases are well-developed and well known destinations where most investments are owned by both Thai and international investors; and tourism revenue in each case was higher than 7.6 billion baht per year (Wisansing, 2004).

From discussions above, it appears that there is a gap of studying community participation in tourism development in Thailand. Leksakundilok (2004) explores community participation but limits the scope to ecotourism, whereas Wisansing (2004) develops and tests the model of community-driven tourism planning and marketing but her results are based on case study communities at the consolidation stage of tourism development. There is a model of destination tourism (Butler, 1980) that classifies tourism development into five stages: exploration; involvement; development; consolidation; stagnation or rejuvenation or decline (see Chapter 2).

The power of the community to participate or influence tourism decision making and management may vary in each stage of tourism development (Butler, 1980).

Therefore, the current research set out to examine the role of local community participation in tourism development through two case study communities which represent different stages of tourism development and different types of tourism. In addition, the current research examines community participation in tourism development based on a different perspective from that of Wisansing (2004). This research focuses the social capital theory as a central theory to explore how it influences community participation in tourism development.

1.5 Research Objectives

This research aims to study the influence of social capital on community participation in tourism development in a Thai context, the argument being that a community with a strong social norm, networks and trust between people will be likely to have a higher level of community participation and involvement in tourism development than a community lacking this social capital. Therefore, the main research question is *“How does social capital influence community participation in tourism development in Thailand?”*

In order to answer the main research question, the following objectives have been identified.

1. To examine forms and levels of participation in tourism planning and management in selected communities in Thailand.
2. To examine the influence of social capital in community participation in tourism development in selected tourism destination communities.

2.1 To measure social capital in selected tourism destination communities and analyse the association between social capital level and community participation level.

2.2 To explore how social capital can contribute to assist community participation in tourism planning and management.

3. To determine the impediments and key success factors to enhancing community participation in tourism planning and management in Thailand.

This research attempts to investigate community participation based on three perspectives: the role of social capital, the stages of tourism development, and types of tourism development. The research framework presented in Figure 1.2 illustrates an overall picture of this research. All research objectives are examined through Koh Samet and Mae Kam Pong case study communities. These two case study communities are purposefully selected to represent communities where tourism was developed in different forms and at different stages of development. The results presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven enhance our understanding of how social capital can foster community participation in tourism and also how types and levels of community participation change when the destinations are more developed. Butler's (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) is employed to analyse and label the stage of tourism development in each community.

Regarding the first objective, to understand forms of community participation in tourism planning and management, this research analysed the form of community participation in three areas; participation in tourism planning and decision making, participation in tourism operation and participation in tourism benefits. For community participation in tourism planning and decision making, Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation is used as a theoretical framework to assess community participation in decision making in the case study communities. For participation in

tourism operation, Ashley and Roe's (1998) model is used as a theoretical framework to investigate community participation in tourism operation of the case study communities. Lastly, for participation in tourism benefits, several relevant studies are used in comparative discussions.

This research employed social capital theory as an explanatory variable for community participation in tourism development. Arguably, social capital can influence the level of community participation in tourism development. For example, 'trust' - one of social capital's elements, may play a significant role in the implementation of collective agreements about tourism operation within a community. Another element of social capital - networks of civic engagement - may be important also; it represents community cohesion, a basic characteristic to develop coordination within a community. Whereas, norms of reciprocity - the last component - may be important to build up an un-selfish and sharing concept in people's minds which can lead to the fundamental principle of equitable benefit distribution throughout the entire community. Arguably, an equitable benefit distribution seems to be a significant condition which helps increase people's motivation to participate more fully in tourism development.

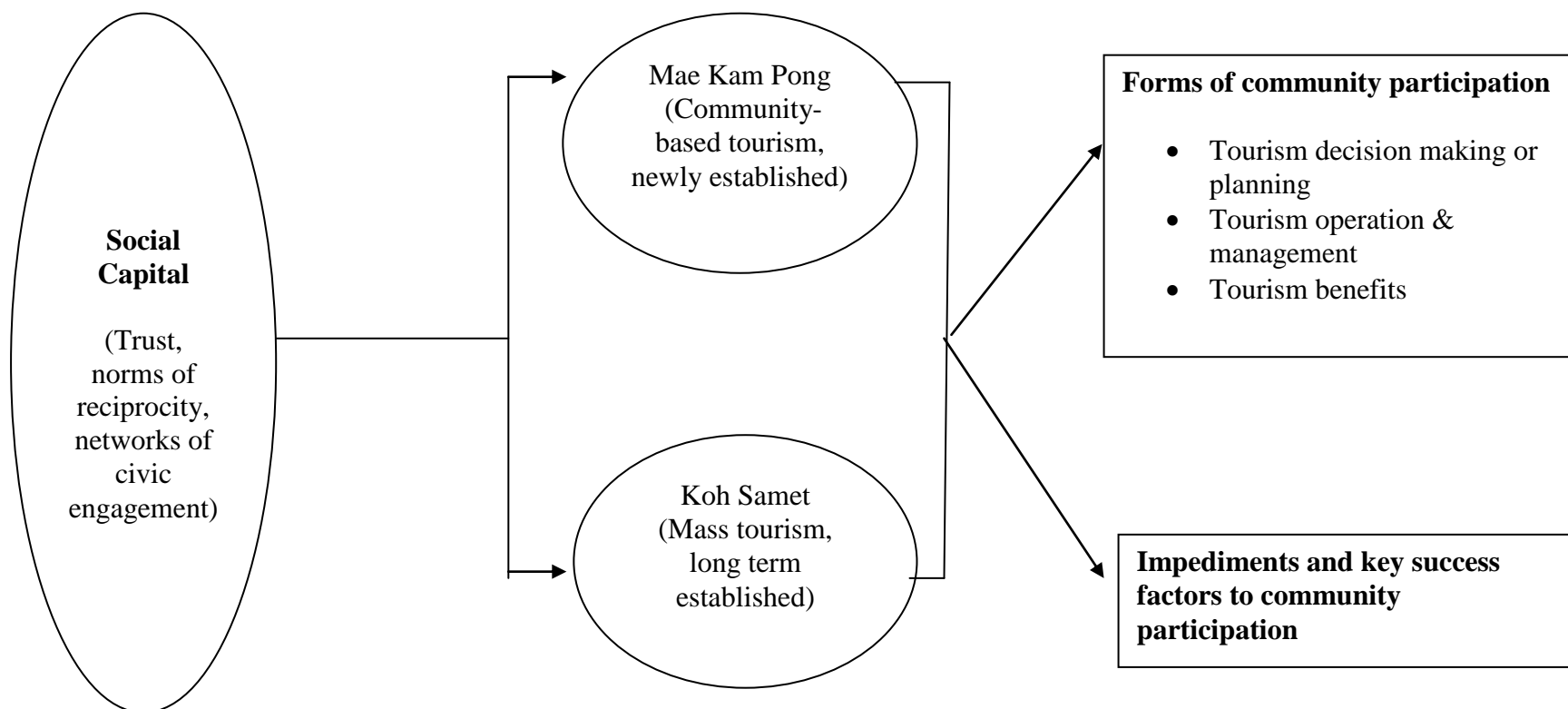


Figure 1.2 Research Framework

1.6 Significance of the research

The findings from this research contribute to the knowledge of the levels and types of community participation in tourism development in a Thai context. In particular, this research extends understanding of the role of social capital in facilitating community participation in tourism development to understand the role of networks, norms and trust in a community. Furthermore, this research creates a better understanding of how community participation occurs at the different stages and forms of tourism development, as different tourism actors may play different roles in tourism planning and management. Understanding changes in community participation over time may offer insights to government authorities and other agencies about how to foster community participation in tourism development.

Findings from this research also extend the body of knowledge about the impediments and key success factors to community participation in tourism development in a Thai context. Wider and deeper understanding of barriers to community participation may assist tourism policy makers to initiate appropriate strategies to overcome those limitations. Finally, this research provides detailed case studies which demonstrate practical mechanisms of community participation in tourism development that can be applied to other communities with a similar context.

1.7 Thesis Organisation

This thesis comprises nine chapters. The first is this introductory chapter. Chapter Two provides a critical literature review of the concepts of community participation in tourism and social capital theory. For the review of community participation, the forms of participation are discussed and presented in three sub-topics including participation in decision making or planning, participation in tourism operation and management, and participation in benefits from tourism. Impediments to community participation and the concept of the Tourism Area Lifecycle (Butler, 1980) are also reviewed. The section outlining the social capital concept includes discussing of social capital theory, measures of social capital and also the association between social capital and community participation in tourism development. Chapter Three outlines the research methodology including the methods used in this research and the justification for their use, data analysis, and the case study selection. Chapter Four describes the Thai context, and in particular, the background to tourism development

and community participation in Thailand. This chapter discusses the fundamental characteristics of Thai society which provides a context for the analysis of the research results.

After that the contextual information and findings are presented for the two cases in Chapters Five and Six. Initially, the background information of each community including; people, society and culture, tourism resources, services and activities, tourism history and statistics, tourism impacts, and the organisations involved with tourism planning and management are discussed. The results are then presented including forms of community participation and the influence of social capital on community participation in tourism development.

The comparative results are presented in quantitative form in Chapter Seven. This chapter explains how the social capital and community participation scores have been formulated, measured and calculated. This is followed by a comparison between the social capital and community participation in tourism development scores of the two communities. Next, the construction of social capital and community participation in tourism development indexes has been presented. Finally, this chapter presents the result of statistical testing of the association between the two indexes. The integrative and synthesised results from all case studies as well as the statistical test of association between social capital and community participation are discussed in Chapter Eight. Although this research used social capital as a major framework to explore community participation in tourism development, other factors which may have significantly influenced community participation in tourism development are not overlooked, and these factors are discussed alongside social capital. The changing nature of community participation at different stages of tourism development and types of tourism development are two interesting themes presented in this chapter. The final chapter, Chapter Nine, presents the conclusions and implications of this research to provide a broader understanding of community participation in tourism development in the Thai context, with possible implications for other developing countries. Significant issues raised from this research and recommendations for future research.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter begins with the broad concept of sustainable tourism development (STD) which emphasises three pillars of development: environmental, social and economic. Community participation is one essential ingredient to achieving STD and relates to several aims of STD. However, although community participation in tourism development is desirable it is not easily achieved in the real world, particularly the developing world. Literature reveals a number of limitations to community participation. This research argues that social capital may have an influence on community participation in tourism development. Therefore, this research explores this idea based on the two case study communities in Thailand. It is anticipated also that community participation in tourism development tends to lessen when tourism development expands. Findings from this research could extend the body of knowledge about community participation in tourism development, particular in developing countries where local people are often the powerless in participation in tourism development.

Chapter 2

Community Participation in Tourism Development and the Role of Social Capital

2.1 Introduction

Community participation is widely recognized as one important ingredient to achieve sustainable tourism development. However, meaningful participation does not happen easily; there are a number of impediments to be overcome. Social capital is considered one important variable supporting community participation in many activities (Macbela, et al, 2004). This chapter begins by presenting of stages of tourism development, as outlined by Butler (1980), and revealing the changing role of the local community in process at various stages of development. This assessment reveals that generally the local community tends to have a less important role and less participation when tourism at the destination is more developed because it involves many more stakeholders, particularly powerful external tourism organisations. Types of tourism development are also discussed whether community participation is different between mass tourism and community-based tourism. Forms of community participation in tourism development are discussed based on theories and practical examples. This research creates three sub categories for discussion of the forms community participation in tourism takes; these are participation in tourism decision making, operation and management, and receiving benefits. Later, an overview of impediments to community participation in tourism development, particularly in developing countries, is presented. Finally, the social capital concept is outlined in detail, and the potential influence of social capital on community participation in tourism development is discussed.

2.2 Stages of tourism development and community participation

Generally, tourism at destination communities could develop into different stages resulting in having different characteristics in terms of accessibility, physical infrastructure development, the numbers of visitors, the numbers of tour operators, the numbers of regulating authorities. Any of the differences may affect community

participation. It is important to understand community participation at each stage of tourism development. The Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC), created by Butler (1980) is a classic model and broadly cited by tourism scholars to outline the development of tourist destinations. As illustrated in Figure 2.1, it classifies five stages of tourism development at destinations including exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation or rejuvenation.

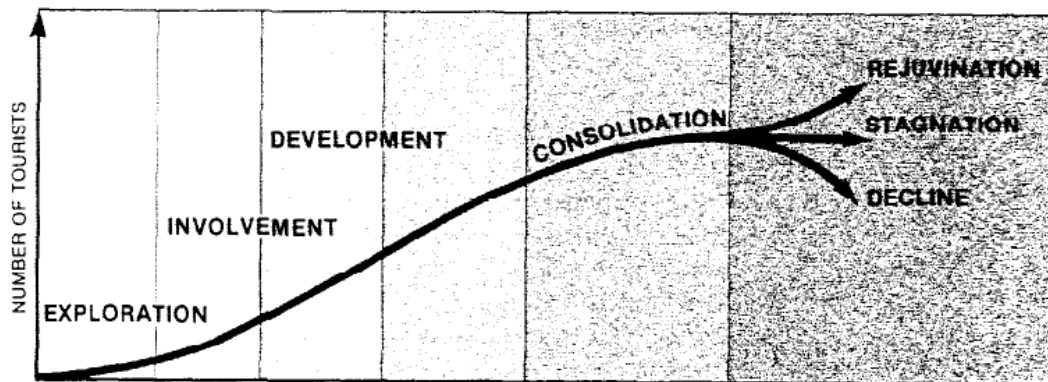


Figure 2.1 The Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC)

Source: From Butler, 1980, p.7

Butler's model provides a picture of destination changes when tourism expands, in terms of physical changes to meet tourist demand and the changing, commercialisation, of host-guest interaction. Butler states that local involvement and control begins to decline rapidly at the 'development stage' of the TALC because of the increasing involvement of external investors to capture the rapidly increasing tourism demand. This is consistent with the work of Keller (1987) who focuses on the shift in control over tourism development away from the local community to exogenous investors as tourism expands. Keller's model outlines the transition of authorities in control of development through the different stages: 'Discovery', 'Local Control', 'Institutionalism' and 'Crises Period'. As with the TALC model, this model demonstrates that different types of tourists, tourism producers and regulating authorities are attracted to the development through time. As tourist numbers increase, different hierarchies of authorities take leading roles in the decision-making process concerning development and management, thereby controlling the industry. Local communities often have a leading role only at the 'Discovery' and 'Local Control' stages (Keller, 1987).

Although Butler's and Keller's models point out that local involvement and control of development tends to decline when tourism is more developed, neither model describe how local people react to development. Doxey's index of irritation (Irridex), which outlines levels of host irritation over time, complements these models and goes some way to filling this gap. The Index of Irritation (Irridex) is a model of the effects of tourism development on social relationships between visitors and the visited (Doxey, 1975). Four stages-Euphoria, Apathy, Annoyance, and Antagonism are described from the beginning to final stage of tourism development. At the initial phase of development, there is only slight pressure between the visitors and the visited. According to this model, the stresses and tensions begin increasing from Apathy to the highest level - Antagonism. In the meantime, power relationships become increasingly imbalanced as tourism planning becomes dominated by tourism industry players while locals' roles and interests are side-lined. It is arguable that the lesser the level of community participation, the higher the degree of host irritation.

At the first stage of TALC, the **Exploration stage**, the destination has a small number of visitors and the types of tourists are normally highly adaptive and independent, as there are generally no dedicated facilities catering to visitors. Therefore, at this stage the use of local facilities and contact with local people is likely to be high. At this stage, tourism is generally new to local people and generates small supplementary income for them. Thus, it may not be perceived with much interest by locals and the number of people involved may still be low. However, for a particular group of local people who are involved in tourism, they appear to have full control over the decision making and management as well as receiving benefits from tourism.

At the second stage, the **Involvement stage**, the numbers of visitors increase regularly and some local residents begin to provide basic facilities for tourists, generally, accommodation and food catering businesses. Tourism at this stage is operated mostly by local people and tourism development is still under local control. Contact between visitors and locals remains high but with more emphasis on providing services to tourists. At this stage, a greater number of local people become involved in tourism because of its attractive income. As a result the community begins to rely more on tourism. Although, Butler (1980) explains that tourism development is still under local control, in the meantime, conflicts of interest among locals may begin to develop. It is important to note that local control over tourism development does not

always ensure that benefits from tourism are distributed equitably through the entire community. Authority in decision making may be restricted to an influential person or a certain group such as local elite.

Once the destination becomes more popular and attracts a larger number of tourists into the area, the **Development stage** is reached. At this point, facilities provided by local people become insufficient for demand and may be replaced by larger, more up-to-date facilities provided by external organisations or operators. Local involvement and control of development will usually decline rapidly during this stage. The type of tourists will also change to being less adaptive and more dependent on facilities and activities to satisfy their needs. At this stage, there are a large number of outside tourism enterprises who bring both capital and labour into the area to develop tourism facilities. Keller (1987) provides a good explanation that the power of control might transfer from locals to external investors depending on who supplies the capital for development and tourism infrastructure. However, the local community may gain more income from a considerable tourism expansion at this stage. When tourism develops more, but on one hand, it boosts the local economy and local people gain more economic benefits, on the other hand, their role in the decision making and management may be gradually diluted and dissolved.

At the fourth stage, the **Consolidation stage**, the rate of increase in visitor numbers starts to decline, although total numbers still increase, and the total visitor numbers exceed the number of local residents. At the consolidation stage, a major part of the area's economy is tied to the tourism industry. Major franchises and chains are developed. As a consequence, large numbers of visitors and high density tourism facilities can impact directly on local residents, which might be in the form of some deprivation and restrictions upon their activities causing local people to be less happy about tourism in their area which Doxey (1975) calls 'Annoyance'. Local people continue to have a low level of participation in tourism decision making and management continuing from the previous stage. Income received from tourism might gradually shrink as a result of fierce competition. However, this situation may become a turning point for all tourism stakeholders to realise that the previous way that tourism was developed (dominated by external organisations) reflects unsuccessful outcomes and need changes.

From this point destinations may move into one of the three stages: decline, stagnation or rejuvenation, depending on whether innovation occurs or new strategies are created to deal with the negative impacts of tourism, as illustrated in Figure 2.1. As a response to this, a destination may enter a **Stagnation stage**, where the destination is unattractive to most vacationers. Without any improvement, it will lose its competitiveness to other emerging destinations. At this stage, the existing properties are likely to experience frequent changes in ownership. Generally, a destination will not stay in this stage forever, and will move towards decline or rejuvenation. A **Decline stage** may occur after the destination capacity is reached or exceeded causing severe negative tourism impacts, and the destination is not improved or re-imaged. As a consequence, tourist numbers drop dramatically. The existing visitors normally book for a weekend or day trips (short stay) if the destination is accessible to large numbers of people and the price is also much cheaper. Most tourist facilities are often changed into other forms of properties; for example, hotels may become condominiums, retirement homes, while other facilities may be abandoned in the deteriorating environment. The alternative scenario is that a destination may enter a **Rejuvenation stage**. This stage may occur if the mature destination has a complete change in its tourism attractions. For example, the creation of a man-made attraction or taking advantage of previously untapped natural resources in order to provide new attractions to tourists.

Community participation in the last three stages may be different depending on the strategies initiated for change. If no innovative strategies are implemented, tourism at the destination will move to the decline stage that seems to be the end of tourism where negative tourism impacts outweigh its benefits. Automatically, once tourism revenue drops dramatically the external tourism organizations may move to other destinations in search of better returns. The community may be left with the tourism ruins. At this stage, it appears to be too late to rehabilitate the destination even with full community participation. Integrating local people as a partner could enable changes in the destination to move to the rejuvenation stage or at least the stagnation stage rather than the decline stage.

There are different ways and levels in which local people can participate in tourism planning and management as tourism develops. Tosun (1999) states that there are unequal potential opportunities and challenges for the participatory tourism

development approach at different stages of development. At the early stages of development, participation in the form of ‘citizen control’ or ‘self-management’ could be possible. Later, the destination grows to the more developed stages and brings more actors who influence control over tourism. This may create more conflicts in the area. Once the power changes to external investors, it is less likely that they will place the interest and well-being of the local community before their own.

Keller (1987) proposes two ways of avoiding conflicts among tourism actors (normally between local residents and outside investors). The first is “*Control over decision making*” which means the local authorities and/or representatives, trained and experienced in the field of tourism, can maintain control over the decision-making process underlying tourism development and management. The suggested strategy is that the local governing authorities can resist potential pressures and incentives from outside investors to participate in the development or, at least, have the ability to ensure that local representatives hold a majority on the boards of outside investment projects. The second is “*Limited development*”. This strategy is to avoid external takeover of the development by limiting tourism development to a scale that fits with local resources and capabilities.

2.3 Types of tourism development and community participation

Besides the stages of development, another critical perspective which may have an effect on community participation in tourism development is types of tourism development established. As Scheyven (2002) explains mass tourism is often associated with luxury hotels and resorts and involves busloads of tourists coming to a local community once a day for a cultural performance and to buy souvenirs and then returning to their hotels. Weaver (2000) and Aramberri (2001) also distinguish between mass tourism and alternative tourism, noting mass tourism usually starts with the purchase of a batch or package tour to receive standard services at an economic price for the tourists. Consequently, mass tourism tends to be depersonalised in terms of relationships with the host community, accommodation is often at a large scale and owned by large corporations and there is minimal local regulation of the non-local private sector.

In response to the critiques over negative impacts of mass tourism, there is a growth of alternative tourism products, including: ecotourism, responsible tourism, green tourism, cultural tourism, soft tourism, ethnic tourism, alternative tourism and sustainable tourism. Alternative tourism supports forms of tourism which are small scale, minimise environmental and cultural interference, and which prioritise community needs, community involvement and community interests, rather than being based on agenda of economic growth (Scheyvens, 2002 p. 11). For Butcher (2003), alternative tourism is tourism that sets out to be consistent with natural, social and community values and which allows both host and guest to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences.

The types of tourism development involved will influence the degree to which local people can be involved. For example, in cultural tourism and eco-tourism, local people may have more chances to participate by being porters, local guides or performing in cultural shows. In contrast, high-end resort tourism may limit locals' involvement to tourism businesses, which are mostly owned by outside investors who often claim that local people lack the capability to provide standard tourism services (Scheyvens, 2003).

One form of alternative tourism which was explored in the current research is community-based tourism. Based on Scheyvens's (2002) definition, community-based tourism means that tourism ventures in which members of local communities have a high degree of control over tourism activities taking place, and a significant proportion of the economic benefits remain in their hands.

2.4 Forms of community participation

It is important to understand the terms 'community involvement', 'community empowerment' and 'community participation'. These three terms have a broad sense of meaning that does not limit their scope only to community-based tourism but the core concept emphasises several ways in which local people can be involved in and have influence over the tourism development occurring in their communities.

Ashley and Roe (1998) give examples of community involvement in tourism at different levels of participation (Table 2.1). For instance, if tourism is mainly operated by outside entrepreneurs, opportunities for locals may be limited only to being

employees or selling local products. On the other hand, locals have more opportunities to be involved if tourism businesses are mainly run by locals or community enterprises, and can participate by providing home stay services or setting the agreement over benefits for the whole community. For the last two types of example institutions: joint venture between community and private operators, and tourism planning body or conservation authority, local people may have more outstanding role in tourism decision making such as being representatives on Boards of Directors or being consulted in regional tourism planning. The role of the community in tourism operation is important because it increases opportunities for local people to work and own small tourism businesses where they have more power over the type and pace of tourism development; tourism development may be more harmonised with the local way of life and lead to better community well-being.

Table 2.1 Opportunities for host communities to be involved in the management of tourism

Type of enterprise or institution	Opportunities for management roles by locals	Examples
Private business run by outsiders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment • Supply goods and services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kitchen staff in a lodge • Sale of food, building material, etc.
Enterprise or informal sector operation run by local entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Written agreement over nature and extent of the enterprise • Agreement over benefits for the wider community • Enterprise ownership • Self-employment • Supply goods and services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tours of natural features in the area to take place only at set times and to be postponed during community rituals • No more than two busloads of tourists to visit an attraction within the community in a day • Jobs for local people or donations to a community fund based on the number of visitors • Craft sales, food kiosks, campsites, home stays • Guiding services • Hawking, sale of fuel wood and food
Community enterprise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collectively owned and managed • Collectively owned but individually managed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community campsite run by a management committee • Craft centre owned by the community but managed by an individual with business training
Joint venture between the community and private operators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revenue sharing agreement • Participation in decision-making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community has equity in lodge and representatives sit on board of directors • Community leases land for tourism development and sets conditions upon which development may proceed
Tourism planning body or conservation authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation • Representation • Participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local consultation in regional tourism planning • Community representatives on tourism board or parks board

Source: from Ashley and Roe, 1998

In the real world, tourism develops in a various types from community-based to mass tourism. The question is how local residents can be incorporated into tourism development, particularly when the private sector plays a major role in the destination, as is usually the case with mass tourism. Timothy and Ioannides (2002) state that large scale tourism developments, which mostly rely on imported supplies and labour, should adopt a more pro-sustainability policy that requires the use of local products and labour where possible. This policy, thus offers more opportunities for local people to receive benefits from tourism industry by selling local products and being employees. One form of community involvement in large scale tourism can be

seen in Indonesia where the mutually beneficial relationships between local food producers and a four-star hotel were established; it is an exclusive contractual agreement for the supply of high-quality food to the hotel. Consequently, the hotel has decreased its dependence on external suppliers as well as altering the relationships between tourism services and the local people from one of conflict to one of symbiosis (Telfer & Wall, 1996).

Scheyvens (1999) makes an interesting explanation of the term ‘community empowerment’. She suggests that community empowerment could be viewed incorporating four perspectives: economic, psychological, social and political.

The dimension of *economic empowerment* refers to people gaining revenue from tourism and its benefits being shared across a community. Some of the revenue is used for physical improvement in the community such as water systems and road conditions. These facility improvements make a community healthier and stronger.

Psychological empowerment refers to the fact that the self-esteem of community members may be enhanced because their uniqueness, cultural values, natural resources and traditional knowledge are recognised and respected by tourists. A community with higher level of unity, where people share norms and values, is likely to have more power to shape their own future, thus enabling *social empowerment*.

Scheyvens’s (1999) social empowerment appears to be related to the concept of social capital used in this research. For example, local people work together to build community-based tourism which can improve community cohesion and this increase trust amongst community members and strengthen norms of reciprocity and also increase of social empowerment enhances the local community’s equilibrium (Scheyvens, 1999). The dimension of *political empowerment* occurs when local people have the power to join in decision making and to express their opinions, needs and interests about the development that will occur in their area (Scheyvens, 1999; see also Choguill, 1996).

The terms of ‘community involvement’ and ‘community empowerment’ appear to have the same ultimate goal; that is ‘local control over tourism development’ but those two concepts are presented from different point of views. The community involvement presented by Ashley and Roe (1998) mostly focuses on the tangible involvement of local people. By comparison, for Scheyvens (1999) includes more

intangible elements amongst the four perspectives reflecting community empowerment. By synthesising these two concepts, the current research decides to use a term 'community participation' which covers community participation in receiving benefits, taking parts in tourism operation and management as well as having influence on or control over tourism planning and decision making.

Community participation has long been recognized as a tool for balancing power in decision making and to spread the benefits of development projects (Wang & Wall, 2005). McIntosh and Goeldner (1986) have proposed a public participation model for tourism covering two perspectives of participation: the involvement of locals in decision making and the involvement of locals in the benefits from tourism.

Participation in decision making refers to empowering local residents to determine their own goals for development and consulting them about tourism development. Thus, participation in decision making requires a degree of local political empowerment (Scheyvens, 1999). By comparison, involvement in the benefits of tourism development refers to opportunities for community members to own businesses, to work in various industry-related jobs, to receive appropriate training and to be educated about the role and effects of tourism on their community, which results for local residents in increasing levels of income, employment, and education about tourism, as well as decreasing dependence on external agents and suppliers (Timothy, 1999).

In the McIntosh and Goeldner (1986) model, there appears to be two elements incorporated in local involvement in the benefits from tourism, that is, participation in benefits and participation in operation. Participation in operation means people are directly involved in tourism activities such as being employees, guides or selling products or services to tourists. On the other hand, participation in benefits relates to people who may or may not be involved in tourism but receive benefits from tourism. It is essential to distinguish between these two elements because in fact, not all local people are interested in taking part in activities associated with tourism. However, the non-involved people could participate in sharing benefits from tourism by way of collective benefits (e.g. improving water systems) because they are a part of the community who are inevitably affected by negative tourism impacts when tourism expands.

For the current research, the researcher has modified the original model from McIntosh and Goeldner (1986), whereby a third perspective of participation has been added, which is the involvement in tourism operation (see Figure 2.2). This means people can participate by engaging in tourism activities in their community. Secondly, inter-linkages are created between the three components: participation in decision-making, participation in operation and involvement in the benefits of tourism, as these components are not independent but instead interdependent. Thirdly, the original name of the model has been changed from ‘participatory tourism planning’ to ‘participatory tourism planning, operation and benefits’.

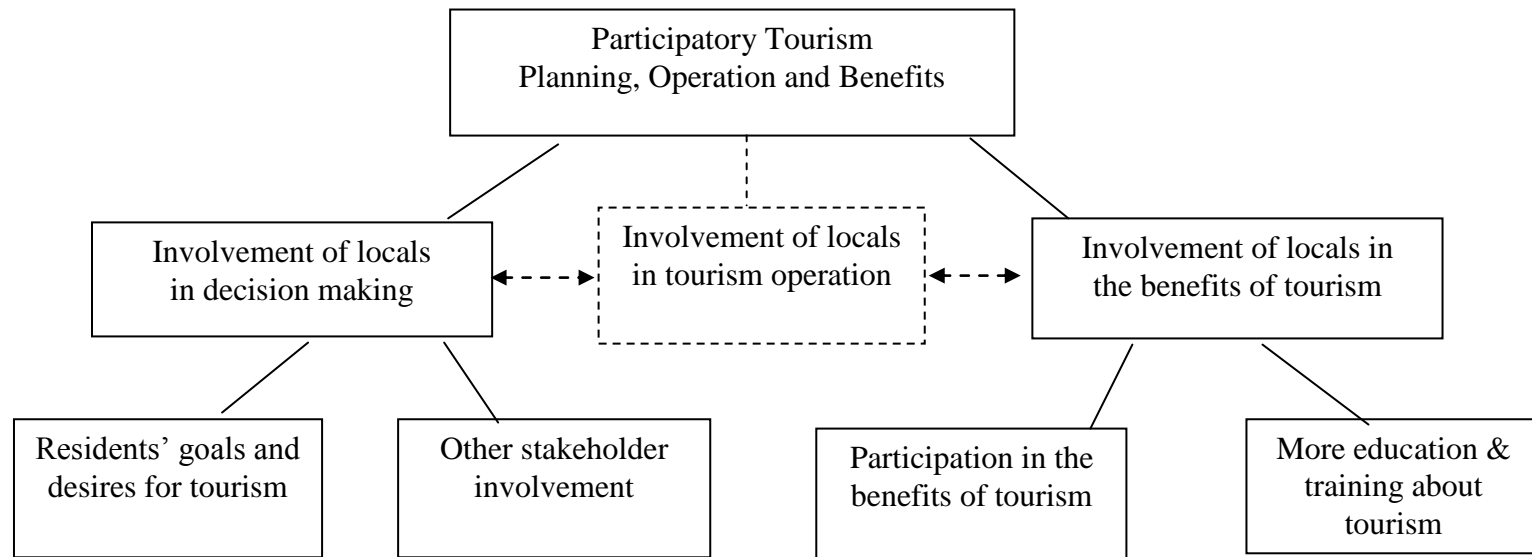


Figure 2.2 A modified normative model of participatory tourism planning, operation and benefits

Source: Adapted from (McIntosh & Goeldner, 1986)

To extend the knowledge of community participation in tourism development, it is essential to adapt this model of participatory tourism planning, operation and benefits for use as a framework to examine community participation of tourism in developing countries. The following sections discuss each of the components in this model.

2.4.1 Community participation in decision making process and planning

Arnstein (1969, p. 216) defines citizen participation as:

The redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens...to be deliberately included in the future. It is the means by which they can induce significant social reform, which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society.

Timothy (2002, p. 153) defines public participation in decision-making regarding tourism as:

Participation in decision-making entails community members determining their own goals for development and having a meaningful voice in the organisation and administration of tourism.

Therefore, community participation in tourism planning and decision making substantially relates to power relations among tourism stakeholders. It is often assumed by community-based tourism analysts that people have equal access to economic and political resources when undertaking the planning and policy process in communities (Reed, 1997). In fact, power is rarely distributed equally among stakeholder groups or even among individual actors. Hall and Jenkins (1995) note that some groups and individuals have the ability to exert greater influence over the tourism planning process than others. Consequently, community participation may occur superficially but decision making remains in the hands of the power holders, which Hall (2003) describes as a form of 'tokenism'. Mowforth and Munt (2009) assert that the relationships of power between local people and other players in tourism activities can produce effects which reflect and promote the unequal development of tourism.

Many models have been developed in order to determine the degree of community participation in public affairs. Arnstein's (1969) typology of citizen participation appears to be the earliest model developed to classify a typology of citizen participation. Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder' or typology of citizen participation has eight levels, from the lowest category, called 'manipulative participation', to the highest category, called 'citizen control'. These eight levels are then classified in three bands

according to the 'degree of participation', which includes: non-participation; degrees of citizen tokenism; and degrees of citizen power (Arnstein, 1969). This model classifies the different degrees to which citizens can participate in development projects run by the government. The highest level, 'citizen control', means have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power in decision-making to make the development responsive to their views, aspirations and needs (Arnstein, 1969).

Another community participation model is Pretty's (1995) model which includes the notion of 'self-reliance' at a community level. This model is then further developed by Pretty, Guijt, Scoones and Thompson (1995). They describe community participation in seven levels from the lowest to the highest level, as follows: manipulative participation, passive participation, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation and self-mobilisation. Manipulative participation represents 'pseudo' participation, which means there are local representatives on official boards who are not elected and who have no power to control the development process. In contrast, self-mobilisation describes full control and power of local people over all aspects of the development process (Pretty, et al. 1995). In the modified model of Pretty et al. (1995), the highest rung of participation- 'self-mobilisation' means:

People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used (Pretty et al., 1995, p. 1252).

Choguill (1996) argues that Arnstein's model of citizen participation may not be suitable for less developed countries. He comments that participation processes in the less developed world appear to be far more constrained than in the developed world. For example, Timothy (1999) has conducted research to understand tourism participation in Indonesia. His findings show that at the time of his study there was no participation in decision making by residents. The government planners perceived that residents were uneducated and unable to participate in the planning process while many residents felt they should not be involved in the decision making process. He argues that cultural and political traditions of the Javanese traditional hierarchy have heavily influenced community participation in decision making in tourism planning.

Residents in less developed countries mostly have low incomes and lack basic infrastructure in their communities and these circumstances affect their aim for participation to be engaged more on fulfilling their basic needs, which are currently insufficiently provided for by government, rather than focusing on claiming their political power or rights alone. According to Choguill (1996), the need for basic infrastructure appears to be a major driver for low-income communities to be willing to participate by contributing their labour, time and money in order to gain what they need instead of waiting for government support alone. Therefore, he developed a new ladder of community participation for less developed countries in which the concept of ‘self-management’ is added. He concluded that community participation can be achieved at very different levels depending on the attitude of the government towards the community. The government can support, manipulate, reject or neglect poor people’s demands (Choguill, 1996).

Table 2.2 Three models of community participation in decision making

	Arnstein 1969	Pretty 1995	Choguill 1996
Citizen empowerment	Citizen control	Self-mobilisation	Empowerment
	Delegated power	Interactive participation	Partnership
	Partnership		
Tokenism	Placation	Functional participation	Conciliation
	Consultation	Participation for material incentives	Dissimulation
	Informing		Diplomacy
Non-participation	Therapy	Passive participation	Conspiracy
	Manipulation	Manipulative participation	Self-management

Source: From (Arnstein, 1969; Choguill, 1996; Pretty, 1995)

Note: The shaded areas represent differing degrees that locals influence decision-making

Table 2.2 compares and contrasts these three models of community participation in decision making. Pretty (1995) classifies community participation into seven levels in which, at the first five levels, (manipulative, passive, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation) people have no real power in the decision-making process. Therefore, genuine participation occurs only in the top-two levels, ‘self-mobilisation’ and ‘interactive participation’. In addition, the

‘participation for material incentives’ and ‘functional participation’ levels appear to explain the two different means for people to participate rather than to express the levels of locals influence on decision-making. Therefore, Pretty’s (1995) model may not demonstrate well the degrees of community participation in decision making.

When considering Choguill’s (1996) model, which extends Arnstein’s idea, the first seven levels, starting from ‘empowerment’ (actual control by community members) to ‘conspiracy’ (non-participation), mainly echo the Arnstein’s (1969) model; only the lowest level ‘self-management’ is added, which represents the situations where some developments originate in the community itself without assistance from outside due to lack of government interest. Including ‘self-management’ at the lowest rung of the ladder of community participation, seems problematic; it is not clear that communities which do not get support from the government should be seen as not participating. In contrast, the communities which establish their own development projects independently, could be identified as fully in control over the decision-making process. The lack of outside support may not be an appropriate factor to use to classify this particular situation at the bottom rung of community participation ladder. In fact, ‘self-management’ should represent full participation because local people themselves participate in all processes of development including planning, implementing and benefits. In comparison with Arnstein’s and Pretty’s models, this can be placed at the highest levels of participation ‘citizen control’ and ‘self-mobilisation’, which means residents are fully in charge of the policy and managerial aspects.

When considering the main idea of Arnstein’s model, the emphasis is on the degree of power (or control) over the effect of development on them, not about the concern for where locals get money or support from. Therefore, although, Arnstein does not mention whether locals can initiate their own development programme and fund it themselves, the main focus is still placed on the situations in which locals have full power to control decision-making, whether the money comes from the government or themselves. Therefore, from Table 2.2, it can be seen that the highest rungs on the community participation ladder in these three models can be achieved for the same reason; full local control over decision-making. According to the discussion above, it seems justifiable to use Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation as the theoretical

framework to assess community participation in tourism decision making in this research.

2.4.2 Community participation in tourism operation and management

There is a strong rationale for host communities to play a role in managing tourism when they are the ones facing the most direct consequences of poorly planned and managed tourism (Scheyvens, 2003; Simmons, 1994). Local people should have more opportunities to participate in tourism in their community so they can gain more benefits, rather than being employed in low-paid jobs. In this research, community participation in tourism operation and management means the ways that individual local residents can be involved directly not only in tourism business activities, but also in the management of natural and cultural resources.

Ashley and Roe (1998) propose a typology of community participation in tourism which emphasises tourism operation in practice. The model classifies different types of local involvement in tourism, as illustrated in Table 2.3, from passive involvement to full participation and from involvement at the individual level to the involvement of all community members. The passive participation approach sees local communities as beneficiaries from tourism development not as influencers. Active participation, however, recognizes that communities need to be empowered with knowledge about their choices and options regarding management of natural resources and tourism development so they can make decisions about what options to pursue and how they can pursue them. Ashley and Roe (1998) stress that to ensure a strong likelihood of the economic, political and social benefits of tourism accruing to host communities, there is a need for full participation. They also suggest that full participation can only occur when communities supply the majority of goods and services to tourists, have considerable input into planning decisions and collectively manage common resources (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Typology of community participation in tourism operation

	Passive involvement	Active involvement	Full participation
Individuals	Local people fill jobs and sell resources	Enterprises run by local entrepreneurs	Network of local industries supplying majority of goods and services
Community institutions /leaders	Receive collective income, e.g. given by private operation as donation or to comply with regulation	-Earn income, e.g. lease resources, commit cooperation, own community enterprises -Give approval for planning decisions	-Decide what to earn and how -Have a decisive say in planning decisions -Collectively manage common resources
All community members	Learn of 'community' decisions	Receive shares of community -Are consulted on community decisions	Participation in decisions on resource-use, revenue and conflicts

Source: from Ashley and Roe (1998, p. 25)

Ashley and Roe's (1998) model is considered appropriate to apply in this research to evaluate the participation of community members in tourism operation and management because it classifies the levels of involvement mainly based on the economic activities of tourism. However, the full participation seems to include elements of participation more closely aligned to community participation in decision making, but does not address the levels of participation like in the Arnstein's (1969) model.

Practical examples of community participation in tourism operation and management in Table 2.4 show that participation in tourism operation appears to be at 'Active involvement' level regarding Ashley and Roe's (1998) model whether individual or community institution based. Only the example from Ecuador seems to demonstrate that a community institution has 'Full participation' in tourism operation because they set an agreement with external tour operators to avoid community problems and to involve local people in tourism operation (see Table 2.4).

2.4.3 Community participation in benefits from tourism

There are several ways for a community to participate in the benefits from tourism development even if local people are not directly involved in tourism activities. The rationale behind this is that local people have a right to receive compensation, because their resources have been shared by the tourism industry. However, fair play rarely happens in the real world. It might require some level of community empowerment to gain the power to bargain with other stakeholders whether government or private

sectors. A literature review suggests that community participation in benefits from tourism can be grouped into two main categories: economic benefits and non-economic benefits. Economic benefits appear to be indispensable, particularly in the context of developing countries; it is usually the initial motivation for the poor people to be involved with tourism so as to receive additional income (Leksakundilok, 2004). Economic benefits include direct and indirect employment, revenue, ownership and profitability (Mitchell & Eagles, 2001). Economic benefits derived from tourism can be both for individuals and for the whole community such as public infrastructure improvement or establishing village welfare funds.

Economic benefits may not enough to enable community well-being; non-economic benefit: social, cultural and environmental benefits are also important, for example, educational facilities development, local capacity building, occupational supports, and local empowerment. Social benefits include positive perceptions and attitudes towards the local tourism industry and power to influence changes in local traditional life styles (Mitchell & Eagles, 2001). Cultural benefits could be observed from rising pride in cultural heritage and increasing of community cohesion. It is argued that, with the proper development; tourism could possibly promote and preserve traditional culture which helps to strengthen the psychological empowerment of local people (Scheyvens, 1999).

As discussed in Chapter One, participation requires the involvement of people in contributing to the development efforts, sharing equitably in benefits, and involvement in decision-making in planning and implementing development programmes in their communities. Arguably, empowering local people may enable meaningful community participation. The World Bank has included 'empowerment' as one of the main objectives of community participation (Paul, 1987). Sofield (2003) points out that the issue of empowerment is about a shift in the balance between the powerful and the powerless, between the dominant and the dependent. Scheyvens (1999) suggests that empowerment is evidence of a power re-distribution to local people to shape their own future.

Page and Czuba (1999) assert that the core concept of empowerment is the idea of power. For them, the possibility of empowerment depends on two ideas; 'power can change' and 'power can expand'. They define empowerment as:

A multi-dimension social process that helps people gain control over their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important (Page & Czuba, 1999 p.2).

Economic and political empowerment is observed from the case of Xidi and Dai village in China in a form of community institution or organisation (Jiuxia & Jigang, 2008; Ying & Zhou, 2007). This community organisation plays a significant role in tourism management in the community. The organisation is operated by the village committee who are the genuine representatives of local people. Consequently, outcomes from tourism development appear to benefit local community both individually and collectively. However, tourism management by the community organisation is appropriate with a particular type of community based tourism; there are different ways for communities in receiving benefits from tourism operated by private operators.

One example shows how a private tourism enterprise may benefit the destination community. It is Oliver's Camp in Tanzania, a nature-based tourism run by a private enterprise. This enterprise has a long-term lease agreement with the villages under a specific obligation- a per-tourist per-day 'wildlife conservation fee'. A fee is collected by the enterprise and then passed on through the village councils, for community development purposes such as maintaining a village borehole and water pump, expanding the village school, and purchasing food for villagers during a period of drought. Benefits from wildlife conservation fees are mainly used on a communal not individual basis and may be considered social benefits because it helps to improve community well-being (Christ, 1998).

The successful examples above suggest that it is necessary to maintain both economic and non-economic benefits from tourism to enable balanced development where everybody in every segment of the community could share those benefits, have better lives, grow and prosper together. It is challenging for any single community to create a balanced mix of benefits from tourism which is not only fair to the involved and non-involved people but also fair to their local culture and environment. The idea of empowerment is very significant as it could enable community participation and in the meantime it could become outcomes of community participation. Therefore this research has explored the case study communities to see how community could be empowered through participation in tourism development.

Practical examples of community participation in tourism decision making, operation and benefits are presented in Table 2.4. These examples demonstrate several levels of participation in tourism decision making. Mostly, community participation in decision making from the examples are at Arnstein's 'Consultation' and 'Placation' levels. Only an example from Africa seems to be at 'Delegated power' where local people establish community agencies to participate in tourism development with delegated power to make decisions (Christ, 1998).

Table 2.4 Practical cases in community participation in tourism development

Participation in tourism	Practical community participation activities	Country /Literatures
Planning, decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Participation in community-based tourism meeting -Annual election of representative tourism committee -Generating forum/meeting discussions about tourism and its impacts to local community -Establishing Rural Investment Fund to act as community development agency which aims to ensure that tourism activities are discussed and endorsed by local community and to raise funds and support community development projects - Local authorities encourage to participate in tourism planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Peru / Mitchell & Eagles, 2001 - Peru / Mitchell & Eagles, 2001 - Costa Rica / Drake, 1991, - South Africa / Scheyvens, 2003 -Africa, Christ, 1998 - Peru / Mitchell & Eagles, 2001
Operation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individuals' involvement in tourism service administration -Establishing community organisations to manage tourism operation in community -Invest in the financial share in tourism project in order to gain dividend -Supply goods for tour operators -Establishing collaboration with tour operator to avoid community problem and setting agreement of community involvement in tourism operation -Community meeting with visitors creates opportunities of cultural exchange and understanding how tourism aids community development -Volunteer jobs in environmental protection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peru /Mitchell & Eagles, 2001 - Peru / Mitchell & Eagles, 2001 -Zimbabwe / Scheyvens, 2003 - Brazil / Nelson, 2000 -Ecuador / Drumm, 1998 -Ecuador / Drumm, 1998 - Costa Rica / Drake, 1991

Participation in tourism	Practical community participation activities	Country /Literatures
Benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Infrastructure improvement (water supply, roads) -Percentage/amount of economic benefits / fees allocated to community (community funds, conservation, education) -Paying “wildlife conservation fee” to villages, which is used to improve community well-being such as maintaining a water pump, expanding the school and purchasing food in periods of drought -Tourism strengthens cultural values, increases pride in cultural heritage, enhances community cohesion -Interaction with tourists gives the villagers an opportunity to find out about wider world -Tourism revenue is used to develop economic activities (handicrafts development, agro forestry) -Raising funds to support local capacity building (management skill, legal document education and decision making ability) -Villagers have used tourism receipts to invest in educational facilities and financial aid for poor children to study. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indonesia / Cole, 2006 -Indonesia / Sproule & Suhandi, 1998 - South Africa / Scheyvens, 2003 -Ecuador / Drumm, 1998 - Indonesia / Cole, 2006 -Tanzania, Christ, 1998 -Zimbabwe / Scheyvens, 2003 - Indonesia / Cole, 2006 -Ecuador / Drumm, 1998 -Tanzania, Christ, 1998 -China, Hatton, 1999

Source: Christ, 1998; Cole, 2006; Drake, 1991; Drumm, 1998; Hatton, 1999; Mitchell & Eagels, 2001; Nelson, 2000; Scheyvens, 2003; Sproule & Suhandi, 1998

Literature suggests that community participation in tourism development helps to generate equitable distribution of benefits and mitigate negative tourism impacts at the community. However, to achieve community participation in tourism development is not an easy task. It is a complicated process and there is a need of analysis of all aspects of the community: economic, social, political and cultural. The following section describes the significant impediments to community participation in tourism development in developing countries.

2.5 Impediments to community participation in tourism development in developing countries

Evidence suggests there are numerous limitations in community participation in tourism development in developing countries as Tosun (2000, p. 626) explains:

Community participation as citizen power is not a simple matter but it involves different ideological beliefs, political forces, administrative arrangements, re-distribution of wealth and power, and varying perceptions of what is possible, which seem to be unacceptable for the prevailing ruling class in many developing countries.

Tosun (2000, p.614) goes on to suggest that:

Although community participation in the tourism development process (TDP) is highly desirable, there seems to be formidable operational, structural and cultural limitations to this tourism development approach in many developing countries.

The concept of a participatory tourism development approach originates in the developed world (Tosun, 2000), where its people are aware of their rights and have more equal power distribution than people in the developing world. In other words, the concept of community in the developing world is less formalised than in the developed world and democratic participation is less visible in decision-making (Tosun & Jenkins, 1998). Mowforth and Munt (2003) examine several participatory tourism development practices in developing nations and conclude that several of the cases of participatory approach are examples of manipulative or passive participation according to Pretty's (1995) typology. McIntyre, Hetherington and Inskip (1993) give cases in Zambia and Mexico as examples of community involvement in tourism development that also present manipulative, passive or pseudo participation.

There are a wide range of factors that could hinder and constrain the promotion of community participation in the developing world where people have low standards of living (e.g. poverty, inadequate housing, poor health, limited or no education) (Tosun,

2005) and struggle with maintaining livelihoods. Although, some of the impediments may occur in both developed and developing countries, this section points out that developing countries face additional issues. Basically, these impediments can occur not only from local people but also from tourism developers. Impediments from both sides are presented in three aspects: political, socio-economic and cultural aspects.

The fundamental concept of community participation requires a certain level of power sharing and transferring to grassroots individuals (Tosun, 2005). Arguably, power relations appear to be main ingredient of community participation. Therefore, it is useful to begin discussion with the most significant issue—inequitable power relations – which may lead to other obstacles to community participation.

2.5.1 Political obstacles to community participation

Power relations are an important issue that needs to be considered to enable successful collaboration among tourism stakeholders both in developed and developing countries. Reed (1997) suggests that power relations are an integral element in understanding the characteristics and consequences of community-based planning where tourism is emergent. It is one explanatory variable demonstrating why collaborative efforts succeed or fail. She also suggests that in the real world, it is unlikely that agencies such as municipal governments will be neutral conveners of power (Reed, 1997).

West (1994, as cited in Reed, 1997, p. 567) defines power as “the ability to impose one’s will or advance one’s own interest”. Generally, it is unlikely that any development project is totally implemented by one party; in fact, it is more common to involve several parties with different levels of power. According to Jamal and Getz (1995, p.193), “no single organisation or individual can exert direct control over the destination’s development process”. Therefore, ‘power relations’ could be an appropriate term to describe the relationships of power among several groups of tourism stakeholders. In a tourism context, stakeholders may include local residents, tourists, and tour operators, local and central government bodies, and NGOs (if any).

A problem with a lack of co-ordination may occur due to conflict of roles and interests among government agencies. Generally, the development of tourism resources in destinations often involves various government agencies. Effective co-

ordination among these agencies may not be easy to achieve, in particular, when their missions are opposed to each other. For example, in Thailand, TAT announced a plan to promote eco-tourism in Huay Kha Khaeng wildlife sanctuary without co-ordination with the Forestry Department which is responsible for conserving the area. As a result, the plan cannot be implemented because it might severely damage the wildlife habitat (Wisansing, 2004). Tosun (2000) notes that lack of co-ordination may be partially due to a traditional powerful bureaucracy that dominates legislative and operational processes. Elliott (1983) remarks that the civilian bureaucracy is still powerful in Thailand because of its permanence, stability, internal cohesion, knowledge and control over the government administrative system. Each authority is afraid that they may lose power if they provide, or share, information or even run a cooperative project with others and also concerns about claiming project's success as their own performance rather than the outcome from cooperation in order to gain more budget. This circumstance can be found in many destinations in the developing world, for example Turkey, Kenya and Bali as well as Thailand (Elliott, 1983; Tosun, 2000).

Another issue that cannot be overlooked in the study of community participation is the concept of representation. The basic concepts of participatory and representative democracy are applied to community participation in tourism development. Based on participatory democracy, which aims to involve everyone in decision making, it is difficult to get a high level of participation among a great number of people (Jenkins, 1993; Simmons, 1994). When the number of people increases, the concept of representation is introduced in participation (Sewell & Phillips, 1979). Botes and Rensburg (2000) state that community organisations or institutions, which are not democratically elected, often represent the voice of a group of self-appointed people and may not accurately reflect the views and perspectives of the broader community. It is a challenge to tourism planners to discover the appropriate representatives to participate in tourism decision making, who are able to act on behalf of the entire community.

A further issue is the centralisation of public administration for tourism planning. Tosun (2000) suggests that public participation in developing countries appears to be centralized only at the higher levels of government at present. Timothy (1998) argues that governments in developing countries tend to take a leading role in tourism

development than in developed countries. Tourism planning is usually done by central government or the national tourism organisation with little consideration paid to local needs, and these powerful organisations may be reluctant to relinquish or dilute their power (Wang & Wall, 2005). Literature shows that many developing countries such as India, Mexico, Thailand, Turkey and Indonesia, have strong central governments and a bureaucratic public administration system which restricts the response to local needs (Cole, 2006; Jones et al., 2009; Koker, 1995, as cited in Tosun, 2000; Kumar, 2002).

2.5.2 Socio - economic obstacles to community participation

It is widely recognised that the limited capacity (skills, knowledge and information) of local people is a fundamental obstacle to participation (Cole, 2006; Hapuwatte, 2008; Jenkins, 1993; Koch, 1997, as cited in Scheyvens, 2002; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000). In practice, local people are rarely involved intensively in decision-making or planning and implementing policies, and may often be misled by outside planners and developers. Jenkins (1993) states that in general, the public often has difficulty in comprehending complex and technical planning issues. Cole's (2006) research about sustainable tourism of a community in Indonesia reveals that one important barrier to participation is that the local people do not have the knowledge to participate; not only the knowledge about how to participate but also knowledge about development issues is required for meaningful participation. In developing countries most local people in the tourism sector are unskilled. Thus, the skilled jobs are occupied by people from other parts of the country or from outside it. Low status jobs associated with low wages have limited local people in participating in tourism development as they may have limited dignity, no confidence and little power to participate (Tosun, 2000).

Information is critically needed for people to participate in any type of development project and should be provided sufficiently and clearly by the developers to the whole community. Keogh (1990) states that the basic aim of any public participation programme should be providing the concerned citizens with adequate information. In addition, local residents in developing countries have very few opportunities to experience being tourists themselves; most never travel outside their home regions (Murphy, 1988). Therefore, knowledge about tourism seems to be far beyond their

imagination. The community needs access to a wide range of information about the issue they are going to discuss. In most developing countries, tourism data are inadequate and are not being disseminated to their citizens in an understandable form. In this way, there is a knowledge and information gap in many communities in the developing world between the centralized authorities, the rich and educated elites, and the poor local people (Tosun, 2000).

The apathy and low level of awareness in the local community is another impediment to community participation (Botes & Rensburg, 2000; Jenkins, 1993). According to Tosun (2000), poor people in the developing world have difficulty meeting their basic and felt needs. This condition makes them concerned about their survival rather than being involved in public affairs. Wisansing (2004) reports that low-income community members in Thailand may participate more if they receive monetary rewards to compensate for the meeting time they have to sacrifice from their work. Therefore, poor people may not feel able to consistently contribute enough time to participate in the development processes due to work commitments that ensure their family's survival. Another reason is that grassroots people in most developing countries are familiar with having decisions made for them by government agencies and this has rendered them apathetic about involvement beyond their family's domain (Tosun, 2000).

Community participation requires considerable money and skills both to organize and sustain (Paul, 1987; Telfer, 2003; Timothy, 1999). Jenkins (1993) states that increasing costs in terms of staff and money, impedes the incorporation of public participation in tourism planning. This impediment occurs in both developed and developing countries because it is the nature of a participatory approach to planning (Botes & Rensburg, 2000). Effective participation does not occur just once but needs to be an on-going process to shape sustainable tourism development in the destinations; thus, it needs a large budget that most government bodies in the developing world may not have available for the sector. Therefore, insufficient budgets may inhibit the success of community participation in developing countries, just as they do in developed.

Public participation is not a single event; it is a series of events which continually involve in the affairs of the community over the long term (Reid, 2003). Jenkins

(1993) notes that one impediment to incorporating public participation in tourism planning is that it lengthens the decision-making process. The major cause is possibly from both the developers and the developed people as they often have different views and experiences; efficient communication between them may require quite a long time. In addition, Botes and Rensburg (2000, p. 50) explain one consequence associated with the time-consuming and high cost community participation approach, whereby 'excessive pressures for immediate anticipated results' may force developers to take matters out of the hands of local people and complete the project themselves in order to get quicker, tangible results. Although, the project can be finished quickly, without community involvement its sustainability may be impeded because the project's outcome may not be the appropriate solution for local people.

2.5.3 Cultural obstacles to community participation

One cultural obstacle which may limit community participation is the culture of silence (Kumar, 2002). This culture is found in many developing countries, where people do not feel comfortable to express their opinion or share ideas in public. Timothy (1999) reports that in Indonesia, the most apparent tradition, that authority and reverence restricts to the powerful people, resulted the culture of silence which inhibits community participation taking place.

Elite domination is another important limitation to community participation (Botes & Rensburg, 2000; Kumar, 2002; Mowforth & Munt, 2009). Elites are powerful people who play an important role in decision-making in many development projects, including tourism. This may result in their individual or family benefits being prioritised over community benefits. Extensive elite domination may lead to corruption issues in development projects in developing countries. There are a number of examples of the local elite problem, especially, in developing countries. For example, a community with no prior experience with the tourism industry in the Dominican Republic which the elite family enthusiastically supported the resort and defended its interest in return for making a substantial amount of money from selling their coastal land on which the resort was built (Freitag, 1994). Another example comes from Turkey, when incentives are given inequitably to tourism entrepreneurs because they are given on the basis of inner party courtesy or intimacy of friendship and relationship (Tosun, 2000). This can be called a patron - client relationship, as

found in Indonesian communities, particularly in rural areas in which the patron - the community leader - is like a father and the client is deferential and obedient and confrontation is avoided (Cole, 2006). In Thailand, the patron-client system has emerged over several centuries and has been widely accepted as an underlying principle of organisations in Thai society (Volpe, 2010). This system seems to cause an unequal opportunity to involve in development activities between the Thai urban elite and middle class, and rural populations (Albritton & Bureekul, 2008). Thus, if this situation occurs it might be very difficult for the people who are not clients to get involved in tourism development controlled by the patron.

A number of constraints to community participation in tourism development, particularly in developing countries are discussed in this section. Some of these constraints relate to social and cultural factors. It is anticipated that social capital could facilitate community participation in tourism development.

2.6 Social capital and its relationship to community participation

2.6.1 Social capital theory

Social capital is a concept which has gained prominence over the last decade. The concept was mainly developed by Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam, and James Coleman (Macbeth et al., 2004). According to Bourdieu (1986, p.248), social capital is:

The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.

For Putnam (2000, p.19), social capital refers to:

Connections among individuals, and the social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.

Coleman (1990, p. 302) defines social capital by its function as follows:

It is not a single entity like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence...social capital is embodied in the relations among persons...(a) groups whose members manifest trustworthiness and place extensive trust in one another will be able to accomplish more than a comparable group lacking that trustworthiness and trust.

Arguably, Bourdieu's (1986) definition of social capital is mainly associated with networks of relationships that are formed between people. Coleman's (1990) definition presents the broader concept that social capital is not only associated with the relations among people but also perceived trustworthiness among a group's members. Putnam (2000) extends the definition of social capital by including norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness, as they arise from networks between people. Putnam's (2000) definition seems to be appropriate for investigating social capital in real settings because it concerns not only the quantitative perspective (i.e. a number of relations between people) but also the qualitative perspective (i.e. trust and norms). A high number of group memberships alone may not always ensure a high level of cooperation in that group. For example, Grootaert (1999) reported that heterogeneity in group memberships had a negative effect on collective action in Indonesia. Thus, social capital may not only depend on the number of networks but may also depend on how the relationships of the group's members are, or how strong the affiliation among them.

Jones (2005) suggests two types of social capital: structural and cognitive. The structural component includes networks, roles, rules, precedents and intensity of associational links or activity; it is about 'what people do'. The cognitive component covers norms, values, attitudes and beliefs or perception of support, reciprocity, sharing and trust and relates to 'what people feel' (Krishna & Shrader, 2000). This suggestion has incorporated all dimensions of social capital definitions discussed above.

Social capital networks include bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding applies within community relationships whereas bridging applies to extra (outside) community relations (Jones, 2005). Basically, bonding within a community helps to create grass-roots power to negotiate with outside stakeholders but too much bonding can reflect a community that is more isolated and less tolerant of strangers and outsiders (Kay, 2006) and too inflexible and rigid for a rapidly changing world economy (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Bridging social capital is important to encourage community participation in tourism development because rural communities often lack the capital, business skills and international marketing links (Ashley & Roe, 1998); all these may limit local participation. Networks with external organisations, such as, educational networks and marketing networks with tourist

agencies allow local people to gain more knowledge and skills and to receive higher tourism income which motivate and support them to participate more in tourism development.

Unlike the other forms of capital, social capital is a public good: everyone can benefit from it, even those who do not participate in community activities. Forms of social capital such as trust, norms and networks increase with use and diminish with disuse (Putnam, 1993). In addition, social capital can be produced and also run out if there is a lack of proper maintenance (Coleman, 1990). Social capital can be developed and used in both positive and negative ways like other forms of capital. For example, the Mafia is an organisation which has strong social capital but is intent on criminal and anti-social activity (Kay, 2006).

When applying the social capital concept, it is important to engage both the quantitative aspect of social capital (such as the number of memberships of groups or networks) and the qualitative aspect of social capital (such as type of local networks: for example, Mafia or gangs). In some circumstances, higher stocks of social capital may result in significant negative implications called 'bad' social capital (Jones et al., 2009). An example is the influence of vertical and clientelistic networks or strong informal connections creating significant bonds between certain social groups where only the interest of specific groups in a community are promoted. Furthermore, Jones and her colleagues (2009) argue that 'bad' social capital may create new social norms impeding the functioning of internal control, for example, the belief that citizens should not exercise internal control in their community.

Pretty and Ward (2001) suggest that trust and reciprocity lubricate cooperation and build confidence to invest in collective or group activities. Putnam (1993) asserts that social capital can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions and collaboration. Based on the above literature, social capital could possibly facilitate coordinated actions among a community's members to participate in tourism planning and management which requires collaboration and coordination from various tourism stakeholders including local people.

2.6.2 How social capital relates to community participation in tourism development

A literature review suggests that there are several key ways in which social capital relates to community participation in tourism development. First, social capital helps to bind a community together and facilitates collective decisions or actions for the benefit of the community (Yokoyama, 2006). Kay (2006) uses the words 'glue' and 'grease' as metaphors of social capital. Macbeth and his colleagues (2004) assert that social capital facilitates coordination and cooperation, and allows people to resolve collective problems more easily; the greater the level of trust within a community the greater the likelihood of cooperation (Putnam, 1993, p.171). Social capital is required for sustainable development; the limit of collaboration and partnerships in network structures may undermine the social capital (Hall, 1999). Thus, social capital may play an important role to assist community participation in tourism development, particularly in tourism planning that requires considerable cooperation among various ranges of stakeholders.

Second, communities with high social networks and civic associations tend to be well-positioned to confront poverty and vulnerability, resolve disputes and take advantage of new opportunities (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Arguably, communities with a high level of social capital are likely to participate more efficiently in tourism development because tourism development at the community level involves a great number of people, who may or may not support tourism. Botes and Rensburg (2000) state the conflicting interest groups within end-beneficiary communities is one obstacle to community participation. Basically, each community consists of a variety of social groups with differing interests and different perceptions of their actual and desired roles in society. Without strategies prepared to cope with this problem, conflict may arise among different interest groups in the community leading to opposition. Competition among these groups and other movements for access to scarce resources and power is a major constraint preventing community participation and it also lessens social capital in the community.

Third, the components of social capital (trust, norms and social networks) are necessary to improve the quality of life and community development (Putnam, 1993). Consistent with Macbeth and his colleagues (2004), an increase in SPCC (Social, Political, Cultural Capital) can improve a community's sense of well-being. Trust

between people in a community is an essential factor to support community-based tourism development; if local people cannot trust each other it is most likely impossible to enable a collective agreement in the community. Without trust, suspiciousness and opportunistic behaviour among people may increase in a community. In this situation, it may be very difficult to develop any cooperation in the community, including for tourism development. Moreover, trust also possibly derives from a high level of honesty of people within the community, thus, it helps prevent corruption. Corruption has been used as one proxy indicator reflecting low level of social capital (Svendsen & Bjornskov, 2007). Without trust, corruption or unfair practice may easily occur at a community level, especially when tourism income becomes substantial.

An interesting example of a community losing trust is the case of the firefly conflict in Malaysia. Firefly watching is a popular tourist activity in Kampung Kuantan. Initially, villagers agreed to use non-motorised boats to protect the mangrove banks from erosion; however, as this tourist activity contributes a major source of income and employment, tensions developed within the community between those villagers who benefit from fireflies and those who do not. As tourism increased, a number of rival groups became established and began to use powerboats to gain as much revenue as possible, breaking the village agreement (Ashley & Roe, 1998).

A community with high norms of reciprocity can more efficiently restrain opportunism and resolve problems of collective action (Grootaert & Bartelaer, 2002). The collective action also fosters norms of collaboration and formation of organisations (Yokoyama & Ishida, 2006) which supports the development of community participation in tourism. Arguably, in a community with a strong norm of reciprocity, people are likely to contribute time to participate in community activities and to share ideas in tourism planning or decision making. In addition, norms of reciprocity may also affect more equitable benefit sharing in the community. For example, some of the revenue from tourism may be reserved for the purpose of community development such as improving a water system rather than distributing all the revenue to individuals.

Networks of civic engagement refer to intense horizontal interactions. The denser such networks are in a community, the more likely its citizens will be able to

cooperate for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1993, p. 173). Not only networks within a community but also networks with outsiders can foster tourism development in the community. Karlsson (2005) states that communities with “bridging social capital” appear to have a greater chance of having small businesses emerge and develop than communities without this bridging social capital. Networks both within the community and between the community and outsiders can facilitate community participation in tourism operations. Generally, communities in rural areas have limited knowledge and ability to be involved in tourism operation (Ashley & Roe, 1998). Assistance from external organisations that provide training or arrange tourism forums in the village offer more opportunities for local people to attend and understand tourism, leading to increased local interest for participating in tourism activities (Ashley & Roe, 1998).

Fourth, networks facilitate communication and improve the flow of information about the trustworthiness of individuals (Yokoyama, 2006). To encourage local people to participate more in tourism planning and management, the flow of information is crucial (Tosun, 2000). Generally, people need to know essential tourism information to increase confidence to participate in community-based tourism planning and this information can flow more efficiently through social networks, both formal and informal (Yokoyama, 2006). Social capital helps to overcome the problem of lack of information which is one obstacle to community participation in tourism development.

Fifth, social capital helps to strengthen a sense of ownership in the community (Kay, 2006). In the community where people have a strong sense of ownership, people in that community may have higher awareness of the need for protection of their local resources. With this awareness, these people are likely to participate in any activity including tourism that affects their cherished resources. This may also influence the way that tourism entrepreneurs manage their business, to be more concerned about local cultural and environmental conservation and carefully use local cultural and natural resources because they are the community’s property.

Sixth, social capital can improve a community’s ability to sustainably manage natural resources through generating appropriate norms and rules and enhancing trust and reciprocity. Macbeth and his colleagues (2004) assert that social, political and cultural

capital (SPCC) can contribute to a better environment conducive to tourism.

Arguably, social capital could have positive effects on community participation in environmental conservation activities which is one dimension of sustainable tourism development.

Finally, social capital plays a significant role in the development of a local economy. For example, it can reduce transaction costs through unwritten agreements instead of formal contracts (Kay, 2006; Macbeth et al., 2004; Yokoyama, 2006) and reduce the cost of monitoring the behaviour of others (Jones, 2005). In a community with a high level of social capital, local people may have more opportunities to be involved in tourism operations. For example, local people with an appropriate skill set and personalities may work with the community enterprises and receive benefits by being guides without any requirement to obtain a licence or certificate. Another example is that local people may receive financial support from a community organisation such as a low interest loan with collateral-free condition. These examples demonstrate that social capital can foster community participation in receiving benefits from tourism.

This section provides the concept of social capital and its major components: networks, norms and trust. The social capital concept is widely used at a community level in many fields of development but quite limited in the field of tourism. This section has reviewed a number of literatures suggesting that social capital may assist community participation in tourism planning and decision making, operation and management, and receiving benefits.

2.6.3 Measuring social capital and community participation in tourism development

Although the concept of social capital appears to be subjective and difficult to measure, there have been many tools developed to explore levels of social capital in communities. Table 2.5 shows several indicators, developed in different contexts, which have been used to measure social capital. According to Jones (2005) social capital is a slippery concept; the set of indicators designed, then, depend on how social capital concept is interpreted. Literature shows that social capital integrates the structural and cognitive dimensions. Structural social capital is concerned with social relationships, networks, and the structure of social interaction whereas cognitive social capital addresses social norms, values, and attitudes that reflect a sense of

solidarity and mutual trust. It is arguable that issues like 'political freedom' and 'political participation' used by Svendsen and Bjornskov (2007) and Leyden (2003), may not be appropriate indicators to measure social capital because they seem not to belong to either structural or cognitive dimensions of social capital. Some communities may have a high level of social capital while their political capital might be low. It is necessary to make a clear distinction between social capital and political capital. Macbeth and his colleagues (2004) describe political capital as about the use and control of resources as a function of power.

Putnam (2000) measured the long-term social capital in the United States and showed that social capital in the United States has declined over time. Many indicators were used in his research such as the membership in organisations, participation in many different forms of informal networks, proxy indicators asking about trust and the fraction of income contributed to charity (Putnam, 2000). Jones (2005) argues that Putnam's measurements are limited only to structural social capital. Thus, she uses selected questions developed by Krishna and Shrader (2000) to capture both structural and cognitive social capital (for example, including a range of questions on trust, solidarity and reciprocity).

Table 2.5 Social capital indicators

Greece (Jones et al., 2009)	China (Li et al., 2009)	Indonesia (Isham & Kahkonen, 1999)	25 countries in Europe (Svendsen & Bjornskov, 2007)	Thailand (Daniere et al., 2002)**	Latin America (Klesner, 2002)	Sri Lanka (Ekanayake, 2006)	USA (Lochner, Kawachi & Kennedy, 1999)	Ireland (Leyden, 2003)
Social and institutional trust	Dealing with common problems	Density of membership	Political freedom	Chatting within neighbourhood	Social/Interpersonal trust	Involvement in associations/societies in village	Collective efficacy	How well residents know their neighbours
Social norms	Social interaction	Assemblage	Corruption	Social meetings in neighbourhood	Membership of organisations	Connectedness within groups/communities	Psychological sense of community	Political participation
Social networks	People's connections to informal networks	Participation	Generalized trust	Having someone to talk with about serious problems	TV watching (Hours per day)*	Participation/contribution to village collective group works	Neighbourhood cohesion	Trust/faith in other people
	Settling disputes	Community orientation	Civic participation			Relationship with government officers	Community competence	Social engagement
	Dealing with errant children	Collective action				Utilization of common village facilities		
	Participation in formal organisations	Social interaction				Involvement in NGOs and other external organisations		
	Value placed on unity	Trust within neighbourhood						
	Trust placed in others							

*This variable has negative impact on social capital because the higher TV watching, the lower engaging in civic activities **This study measures only social interaction index not the whole dimensions of social capital

Source: Daniere et al., 2002; Ekanayake, 2006; Isham & Kahkohen, 1999; Jones et al., 2009; Klesner, 2002; Leyden, 2003; Li et al., 2009; Lochner, Kawachi & Kennedy, 1999; Svendsen & Bjornskov, 2007

Based on the above discussion, the researcher in the current project decided to measure the level of social capital in communities using a questionnaire with proxy indicators, which expressed local people's attitudes regarding trust, social networks and norms. The questionnaire asks the respondents to score each indicator of social capital from a highly negative to a highly positive level (see details in Section 3.3.1.2).

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter provides a fundamental understanding of community participation in tourism development. In summary, community participation may occur in different forms and levels in different stages of tourism development in the destinations. The discussion of forms of community participation in tourism decision making, operation and management, and receiving benefits illustrated various ways and levels that local people could participate in tourism. Developing countries appear to face more impediments to community participation in tourism development than developed countries. The literature reveals that social capital plays a significant role in many fields of development at a community level, however, there is limited research examining the role of social capital in the field of tourism. This suggests the significance of the current research to examine the role of social capital components (networks, norms and trust) and to investigate how they influence community participation in tourism development. The next chapter presents the methods used for data collection and analysis in this research; they include qualitative and quantitative methods.

Chapter 3

Research Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology and methods used in this research, and also provides a justification for the approach and methods chosen. These selected approaches and methods fulfil the research's objectives of exploring community participation and social capital in tourism planning and management in Thailand. The chapter contains three major sections outlining research design, research process and research limitations. The research design section describes the methodology, measuring social capital and community participation in tourism development and research setting. The research process section describes the research methods and data analysis. This chapter ends with a discussion of limitations of this research.

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Research Methodology

A case study research method was employed to conduct this research project. The case study method has been increasingly used and is recognised as one of the most effective research strategies (Miles, 1979; Yin, 1989). This is because the case study method involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence (Robson, 1993). The greatest strength of the case study method is simultaneously considering multiple factors whether it applies to an individual, group, family, organisation, or community (Chaiklin, 2000). The concept of community participation involves different ideological beliefs, political forces, administrative arrangements, re-distribution of wealth and power (Tosun, 2000); all of these are different from community to community. Therefore, the case study method is considered appropriate to generate the understanding of this complicated process because it simultaneously considers multiple factors from multiple sources of evidence.

A mixed methodology approach that included qualitative and quantitative techniques was employed in fieldwork to collect and analyse data. The qualitative research methodology refers to the gathering of rich information from qualitative data sources

such as reports and archival documents or first-hand data from interviews and observation (Jennings, 2001). Tourism researchers often need to utilise diverse forms of evidence and information when studying the feelings of people in a tourism context (Walle, 1997). Using several methods to collect data allows the researcher access to various sources of data. This is called data triangulation which means looking at the same phenomenon, or research question, from more than one source of data (Decrop, 1999). Triangulation limits personal and methodological biases and enhances a study's generalization (Decrop, 1999). All of these data sources were used in this research. The qualitative method uses less –structured tools to collect data which allows participants to come up with new ideas rather than just focus strictly on the structured survey questions that have been pre-determined, as in quantitative methods. Therefore a qualitative method can explore data in greater depth, and be open to unexpected findings, than a quantitative method.

In particular, qualitative research in the form of interviews allows the researcher to interact with the respondents; this offered opportunities for in-depth probing of issues and yielded great detail in response (Nykiel, 2007). Qualitative data can be richer in meaning than quantitative data (Babbie, 2007) which may help to better understand the meaning of human behaviours or phenomenon. Qualitative research allows the researcher to generate ideas and concepts through the interpretation of human perceptions, attitudes and the social and political culture of the settings, which are difficult to capture by a quantitative research approach alone.

A quantitative approach was employed alongside a qualitative approach when the relationship of two variables, social capital and community participation, are examined. This research investigated the influence of social capital on community participation in tourism development. Therefore, the research used a quantitative approach to capture measurable data of social capital and community participation levels in order to study the relationships between them with a degree of accuracy because the qualitative approach is unable to study relationships between variables (Sarantakos, 2005). Quantitative research can produce results which are statistically reliable (Nykiel, 2007). Thus, it can determine the statistical significance, or strength, with which apparent associations and relationships are probable in the data gathered. Therefore, a quantitative research approach was considered appropriate to generate a

robust result to explain the association between social capital and community participation in tourism development rather than using a qualitative approach alone.

The survey questionnaire was designed to collect quantitative data from respondents' attitudes and opinions about participation in tourism development. In this way, the quantitative results have been used to reinforce the qualitative results and this may overcome some of the criticisms of researcher bias in qualitative case study research. This approach is called 'methodological triangulation' (Beeton, 2005) which means the use of more than one research method to collect and/or analyse data to increase the research validity.

3.2.2 Research Setting

The selection of case studies for this research was based on a purposeful sampling strategy. This research focused on selecting information-rich cases for study in depth according to the purpose and rationale of the research in order to understand and illuminate important cases rather than generalizing from a sample to a population (Patton, 2002). For this research, two tourism destination communities that experienced community participation in tourism development were selected based on their different scales and stages of tourism development.

This research was conducted in Koh Samet and Mae Kam Pong villages. Koh Samet is located in Rayong – a province in the eastern region while Mae Kampong is located in Chiang Mai - a province in the northern region of Thailand. The location of these villages are presented in Figure 3.1.



Figure 3.1 Locations of the case study communities

Base map source: <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/asia/thailand/>

Koh Samet represents a high tourist density and long established (since 1975) tourist destination while Mae Kam Pong is a small community and represents an emerging tourist destination (since 2002). There are different major tourism actors in each case (Table 3.1). Koh Samet, as a long established tourism destination, has many more stakeholders involved in tourism development including native residents, migrant residents, outside investors, and local and central government officials. Arguably, the involvement of more stakeholders might have resulted in community participation in tourism development being far more complicated for this community. On the other hand, stakeholders involved in tourism at Mae Kam Pong are local residents (predominantly native) and a few private enterprises (one local owned, two migrant owned and one non-resident owned). The context of each case study community will be described fully in Chapters Five and Six, where the settings and results are presented together which allows readers to capture a primary understanding much more easily when reading and linking case information and findings on a case by case basis.

Table 3.1 Key information of the case study communities

Descriptions	Koh Samet	Mae Kam Pong
Community size	Medium	Small
Numbers of households**	239 (2008)	126 (2008)
Numbers of population**	1,146 (2006)	402 (2008)
Numbers of tourists***	235,753 (2007)	1,572 (2007)
Location	Rayong province, Eastern region	Chiang Mai province, northern region
Tourist attractions	Marine national park, Sea Sand Sun island	Traditional culture and home stay village
Tourist density (tourist number/resident)	High 205 : 1	Medium 4 : 1
Length of tourism development***	Old (1975)	New (2002)
Predicted level of community involvement in tourism*	medium - low	High
Major stakeholders in tourism development*	Local people, Private sector, Government officials	Local people, Private sector

*Source: Personal Observation

**Source: Mae Kam Pong community development plan, 2008; DNP, 2007b

***Source: http://www.dnp.go.th/nprd/develop/stat_tourist.php; the visitor record of Mae Kam Pong, 2008

3.3 Research Process

The researcher's role was indicated clearly to community members before starting data collection, as someone who came to the village for research purposes only. The researcher stated the purpose of her presence openly to local residents, which helped to lessen their suspicions about the appearance of the researcher and led to more cooperation from them. This was important, particularly in a small community like Mae Kam Pong where people may easily notice strangers and be curious about them but less of an issue in Koh Samet which has lots of tourists. The timing of data collection was planned between September and November in 2008 to avoid the high tourism season, which is normally between December and January, when respondents might be too busy to participate. The time and locations for interviews were determined based on interviewees' convenience in order to avoid disturbing their daily lives. In addition, some survey respondents asked to carry on their job, such as

making tea pillows, while answering the questionnaire, which was unavoidable in some circumstances and this was accepted by the researcher, despite a preference for respondents to answer unimpeded by other tasks.

Consent forms and research information sheets (in the Thai language) were provided to interviewees and survey-respondents in order to provide information about the research and assure informed consents from participants. Participants were advised that they were free to decline to participate in the research and they also had the right to refuse to answer any question, or have their answers removed from the research if required up to a date indicated in the research information sheet. For the interviewees, they were informed that while audio-recording was preferred, they were free to refuse to be recorded, by indicating this on their consent forms. The interview transcriptions, survey questionnaires, field notes, consent forms and all documentation data were stored securely in the researcher's personal locked filing cabinet.

3.3.1 Data Collection

This research employed four methods of data collection. The two main methods used were 'semi-structured interviews' and 'a household questionnaire survey', together with 'document analysis' and 'participatory observation'. Each method will be described respectively.

3.3.1.1 *Semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the community leaders, community members who were directly involved in tourism and lived in the village for more than three years, other stakeholders, such as, local and national government officials, and tourism business operators (migrant resident). Approaching strategies employed in this research were to have a meeting with the village headmen in each community in order to introduce the researcher and the research project and to listen to his/her advice about appropriate persons who are knowledgeable about, and are involved, in tourism planning and management in the community and the appropriate way to the data (due to the choices made by the village headmen) it would not have been culturally appropriate to proceed in any other fashion and this is accepted as a potential limitation on the results. The researcher, then, ask interviewees before conducting the interviews whether they want to participate in this research or not.

Generally, a polite greeting and paying respect to participants by “Wai”¹ helps greatly when approaching rural people in Thailand. With this approach, no one refused to participate in the interviews.

An interview guide was developed by the researcher based on the research framework which was used as an indicative guide when conducting interviews (see Appendix A). The interview guide was translated into the Thai language by the researcher and verified by a qualified English specialist from the English Department of the Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University.

The total number of interviewees from the two case study communities was 18, and one interview was conducted with an officer of the Ministry of Tourism and Sports of Thailand (MOTS). The details of interviewees in each community are presented in Table 3.3. There are five groups of interviewees. First, community leaders group includes the village headman (elected by the villagers and remaining in position until age 60), the president of the tourism committee, the president of the community organisation and some members of the village tourism committee. Second, native residents who are directly involved with tourism in the communities include native business owners and local guides. Third, ‘local government officials’ refers to officials of the Tambon Administrative Authority (PTAA and HKTAA; see Chapters 5 and 6 for details of these organisations). Fourth, central government officials refer to officials working at the offices of the national park who were in charge of the area where the communities were situated and included the senior official of MOTS. However, no interview was conducted with this group at Mae Kam Pong as it was not in the national park area. The last group is migrant residents who owned tourism businesses.

Table 3.2 Interviewees in case study regions

Interviewee groups	Koh Samet	Mae Kam Pong
Community leaders	2	3
Native residents involving tourism	3	3
Local government officials	1	1
Central government officials	2	0*
Migrant residents involving tourism	2	1
Total	10	8

Note: *There is no central government official dealing with tourism at Mae Kam Pong

¹ “Wai” is an action that one puts his/her palms together at the middle of his/her chest and bows his/her head; this is the Thai culture for the younger people to show respect to the older.

The scope of interviews is presenting here regarding the five groups of interviewees. Interviews with community leaders and members of the committee focused on the general background of case study community, the development of tourism and the ways that local residents participate in tourism decision making, the practices of community involvement in tourism operation and how local residents gain benefits from tourism, as well as the barriers and key success factors to enhancing community participation in tourism development. Local and national government officials were interviewed about the roles of organisations in supporting and promoting tourism development in communities, and the tourism situation in these communities.

The interviews with migrant tourism business owners began with questions about the nature of their business, the establishment of the business, their customers and support from government agencies, then, moved to the issues of the involvement with other local residents and opinions about tourism impacts and obstacles that limit local residents involvement in tourism businesses.

With this number of interviewees, the researcher discovered that information gained from later interviewees re-affirmed the stories described by the previous interviewees, thereby achieving what Glaser and Strauss (1967) call data saturation. Data saturation refers to the point in data collection when no new additional data is emerging. The information provided by these interviewees enabled the researcher to recognise what has been happening (Sandelowski, 1995). Finally, it was decided that the information obtained was sufficient for the researcher to generate the main themes to answer the research questions.

The Thai language was used throughout the interviews. In particular, the Northern dialect was used in Mae Kam Pong in the vicinity of Chiang Mai (the researcher's hometown) in order to narrow the gap between the researcher and respondents and to encourage the discussion to be as open as possible. To capture genuine responses from the respondents and to reduce pressure, which may have been exerted by other members of the community, the respondents were interviewed individually (Krishna & Shrader, 2000). The individual interview method provided opportunities for interaction between the researcher and the interviewees. This approach helped create a better understanding of the questions before answering, which enabled valuable and

deep information to be obtained, and also helped develop rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee.

Audio-recording was used with the permission of the interviewees. In this research, there were two interviewees who refused the audio-recording so field note taking was used during the interviews. In this case, the field notes were written up in full in the evening of the same day in order to capture detailed data as much as possible. The length of the interviews varied from thirty minutes to three hours. Interviews took place at the participants' houses, restaurants, shops, local school buildings, at the village pavilion and at the hydro-electricity plant.

3.3.1.2 Questionnaire-based household survey

Quantitative data were derived from a questionnaire-based household survey, which sought to measure social capital, community and individual participation in tourism and perceived tourism impacts in each community. The starting point for the design of the questionnaire was a survey designed by Jones (2005) and used in a study of an ecotourism venture in the Gambia, which itself was based on a significant World Bank research initiative on social capital (Jones, 2005). This tool seemed appropriate for measuring social capital at a community level because the questionnaire contained structured questions to capture both structural and cognitive social capital, and included Likert-type scale attitudinal questions. The World Bank questionnaire was designed based on lessons learned from many studies about social capital in developing countries such as Tanzania, Bolivia, Indonesia, Ghana and Uganda (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones, & Woolcock, 2004). Therefore, it was argued that this questionnaire can be applied to the case studies in Thailand because it has been pre-tested in many developing countries. However, it was necessary to make in-context adjustments and modifications to this survey instrument in order to meet the Thai social and cultural context.

The indicators from the literature provide the practical idea of how social capital can be measured (Table 3.1). Although the concept of social capital originates in Western countries, the main concepts about networks, trust, and reciprocity appear to be relevant in every society, including Eastern countries, but are found in different forms and styles depending on the different cultural and/or political environment. For example, labour exchange in agricultural tasks or house building may reflect the

social bonds of reciprocity in Thai society better than the number of memberships of organisations. However, some indicators may be applied in developing countries' context, such as collective action, social interaction and interpersonal trust, but some may not. Therefore, it is essential to develop a new set of indicators which could be suitable and workable in the eastern developing countries' context (See details in Chapter 7).

The household survey questionnaire contained three sections (See Appendix B). The first section measured social capital and had questions asking respondents about their social networks, norms and trust among community members. The second section measured community participation in tourism development and had questions asking to what extent the respondents participated in tourism operation, planning and decision making as well as their attitudes about tourism's positive and negative economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts in their community. In addition, the respondents were asked to rate to what extent they agreed with two statements, 'There is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism' and 'Overall, I am satisfied with tourism development'. These two questions were significant as they considered the consequences of effective community participation in tourism development. Three types of question - yes-no, open-ended, and Likert-type scales - were employed in these two sections. The last section contained questions asking for demographic data from the respondents, such as age, gender, occupation and annual household income. The household questionnaire was translated into the Thai language by the researcher and was verified by a qualified English specialist from the English Department of the Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University. The survey was conducted by the researcher between September and November 2008.

According to the household population in each case study, the sample size for participants can be calculated using a freeware-Raosoft sample size calculator (<http://www.ezsurvey.com/samplesize.html>). The total number of samples of 130 households comprised 70 from Koh Samet and 60 from Mae Kam Pong, based on their population sizes. This sample size was large enough to enable statistical parameters to be estimated (sample for 10% precision level where the confidence level was 95% and the degree of variability, $P = 0.5$).

A cluster sampling technique was employed to ensure that the samples were drawn from the entire area. The population in each community was divided geographically into clusters. Each cluster contained approximately 10-20 households. The sample households were selected proportionally from every cluster. Convenience sampling was employed at this stage with a random starting point per cluster. The researcher started randomly in each cluster by knocking door-to-door and moving clockwise within that cluster until the target number of samples for that cluster was achieved. At each household, a simple random sampling method was employed by date of birth method. The household member who had a birthday that was closest to January 1st was selected as the participant if that person is not available the second closest birthday person was selected. The potential respondent was informed about the nature and purpose of the research and asked whether s/he would be willing to participate. If they said no, then the researcher would move to the next household and start the process again until the sample size in that cluster was reached. Then, the researcher moved to the next cluster and continued the process of data collection. The response rate of respondents participating in this research was 96 percent. All respondents had to be aged 18 years or over as guided by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

3.3.1.3 Document analysis

Document analysis was used to review the relevant secondary data. Documents analysed in this research included minutes of community meetings, financial records/reports, guest books (from a home stay village), promotional brochures and public community notice boards. Documents can be in both written and non-written forms; for example, promotional material, minutes of meetings, photographs, films and videos (Decrop, 1999). The use of the documentary sources is important for case study analysis because it helps to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources (Decrop, 1999; Jennings, 2001; Yin, 1989).

Another advantage of document analysis in this research was that it provided basic information such as community background and detailed information such as financial reports which can be accessed by the public if requested. In addition, this method also provides the opportunities of examining historical records of the communities' stories. By studying this information first, the researcher was able to use the interview time more efficiently because she was not wasting time gathering

information that already existed and this allowed more time for asking deeper questions about the issues of interest.

The copies of text based documents were analysed by using a reflective reading strategy where the researcher searched for themes through continual reading and re-reading (Wisansing, 2004). Information from community notice boards, the minutes of community meeting and guest books were read in order to triangulate information from interviews and some brief notes were taken by the researcher.

3.3.1.4 Participatory observations

Participatory observation in real-world settings enables researchers to become aware of how the participants construct and describe their world (Jennings, 2001) and provides opportunities to capture data from individuals who would not normally speak, such as some women and distrustful adults (Mitchell & Eagels, 2001). A participant observation technique was applied in several ways during the month long period of field work spent in each community. First, the researcher attended a number of community or tourism committee meetings as a passive observer in each case study community. Second, the researcher had a number of informal conversations with the local residents about their attitudes towards tourism and benefits derived from tourism development, during the time spent as an active tourist and while taking part in everyday community activities.

Personal observation allowed the researcher to obtain first-hand data that helped verify data obtained from other sources. For example, by attending the community meeting in the case study communities, this allowed the researcher to observe the reality of how people in each community participated in the village meeting. In this way it was observed that in one community, while people had a chance to attend meetings, they had no opportunity to express their opinions. In contrast, in the other community people were encouraged to talk and express their opinions in the meeting. This participatory observation technique was a useful strategy for data triangulation that helped increase the validity of this research.

All observations in this research are overt observations because in small communities, people can easily notice a stranger, so, to prevent raising the suspicion of residents, the researcher decided to inform the communities about the purpose of her presence in the communities. Although some may argue that overt observation might have

changed people's behaviour, the fact that the researcher spent one month in each community meant that her presence became accepted and there was little evidence of behavioural changes in observing the real daily life of people in each community.

Brief note taking was often done during the period of observation and then these notes were extended with full details of observation in the evening of each day. Photographs were taken also to illustrate what was happening in the communities such as wasted water areas on the beach near the resorts, the encroachment of public sided walks and a community big cleaning day activity. However, no photograph of identifiable individuals in the case study communities has been included in this thesis for ethical reasons.

3.3.2 Data Analysis

3.3.2.1 Qualitative Data Analysis

For data analysis, qualitative data analysis can be carried out by organising data into categories on the basis of themes, concepts or similar features. The qualitative researcher develops new concepts, formulates conceptual definitions and examines the relationships among concepts (Neuman, 2000). Miles and Huberman (1984) consider that qualitative analysis consists of three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification. Data reduction is a form of analysis that sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards and organises raw data into a form of systematic data arrangement. Data display can be defined as an organised assembly of information that permits conclusions to be drawn and action taking (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Conclusion drawing and verification is a procedure for drawing meaning from a particular configuration of data in a display. Several tactics needed to be applied for confirming meanings, avoiding bias and assuring the quality of the conclusions. These three procedures were conducted in parallel with the data collection (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

As the interviews were conducted in the Thai language, all recorded data were transcribed in Thai word-by-word. For non-recorded interview data, field work note taking was used in Thai. To ensure data completion, copies of the transcription of interviews and field notes were delivered to all interviewees individually, by post, to provide opportunities to correct any errors. This strategy helped to ensure that data from the interviews were complete and correct. All transcriptions were then

categorised case by case. The coding process started by coding each interviewee with a different number, for example, C1-01 referred to the first interviewee of the first community, C2-10 referred to the tenth interviewee of the second community. Interviewee coding was done to enable more convenient access to direct quotes and not identify or reveal the interviewees in the research. Themes and sub-themes were coded to allow more convenient analysis of the qualitative data. For this research, themes and sub-themes emerged from both existing theories and new issues which arose from the field work. Themes and sub-themes codes are presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.3 Themes and sub-themes using for coding qualitative data

Themes		Sub-themes	
Code	Themes	Code	Sub-themes
F	Forms of participation	F1 F2 F3	Participation in benefits Participation in management Participation in decision making
I	Impediments to community participation	I1.. In	Impediment 1 Impediment n
S	Lessons learned from successful communities	S1.. Sn	Success Factor 1 Success Factor n
SC	Social capital in communities	SC1 SC2 SC3	Trust Norms Networks

The researcher analysed the data systematically, as described above, in order to generate main themes and sub-themes, which were supported by interview quotations or observations. Next, this analysis framework generated findings of the two case study communities separately, as presented in Chapters Five and Six, respectively. Finally, comparative analysis was conducted in Chapter Seven to generate similarities and differences which led to the main conclusions of this research.

3.3.2.2 Quantitative Data Analysis

Data from a questionnaire-based household survey were analysed by the researcher using the SPSS statistical package (version 17.0, Lincoln University Licence). Descriptive statistical analysis was used to analyse the demographic data from the samples surveyed. To measure social capital and community participation levels in each community, a scoring system was designed to obtain data in a simple form, which were the social capital and community participation scores which are convenience when doing the comparative analysis (see details in Chapter 7).

Over recent decades, several studies about the influence of social capital have been conducted in many disciplines including economics, social science, politics, health science and environmental science. Several methods of analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, have been employed to examine the association between social capital and other factors. Table 3.5 presents the analysis methods employed in some previous social capital studies. Most of these studies employed quantitative analysis using correlation and regression analysis. Correlation analysis is a statistical tool to test how strong the associations were between two variables, in which the correlation coefficients varied between -1 and 1. Regression analysis is often used to predict a dependent variable when the independent variable was known.

The main research objective aimed to explore how social capital influenced community participation in tourism development, thus, the bivariate relationships between the social capital and community participation indexes (CPinTD) were assessed. There are two ways to assess the bivariate relationships including regression and correlation analysis. Regression was considered not appropriate for this research because basically, social capital and community participation in tourism development have a mutual relationship which means social capital can increase community participation, on the other hand, it can be increased by community participation as well. For example, Jones (2005) reports that from her case study communities in Gambia, locals' participation in ecotourism camp increased mutually beneficial collective action representing the higher level of social capital in the community. Therefore, correlation analysis was considered more appropriate for this research because it can be used to test the strength of the association between social capital and community participation in tourism development.

Table 3.4 Methods of analysis of social capital interconnections with the variables of interest

Analysis approach	Study No.	Interest Variables	Methods of Analysis	Authors, Year, Countries
Qualitative	1	Social capital & environmental policy instruments	Qualitative	Jones, et al., 2009, Greece
	2	Social capital & ecotourism operation	Qualitative	Jones, 2005, Gambia
Quantitative	3	Social capital index & “Grain for Green Project” performance index : local ecological resource management	Correlation analysis, Logistic regression analysis	Li, et al., 2009, China
	4	Social capital index & infectious disease rates	Correlation analysis, Multivariate linear stepwise regression analysis	Holtgrave and Crosby, 2009, USA
	5	Social capital index & teen pregnancy rates	Correlation analysis, linear regression	Crosby and Holtgrave, 2006, USA
	6	Social capital index & household income	Regression analysis	Ekannayake, 2006, Sri Lanka
	7	Trust, non-political voluntarism, social networking & political activity index : political participation	Multiple regression analysis	Klesner, 2004, Latin America
	8	Social capital index & household participation in the design of water system	Logistic regression analysis (Probit)	Isham and Kahkonen, 1999, Sri Lanka and India
	9	Social interaction index & household member participating in a community project	Binary logistic model	Daniere et al., 2002, Thailand
	10	Neighbourhood walk ability index & know neighbours, political participation, trust index and social index	Multivariate ordered logit models	Leyden, 2003, Ireland

Source: Crosby and Holtgrave, 2006; Daniere, et al., 2002; Ekannayake, 2006; Holtgrave and Crosby, 2009; Isham and Kahkonen, 1999; Jones, 2005; Jones, et al., 2009; Klesner, 2004; Leyden, 2003; Li, et al., 2009

To prepare for using correlation analysis, the raw data must be re-arranged in the form of two data series (one data set is social capital and the other is community participation). Therefore constructing the indexes was the first step needed before conducting the correlation analysis. The social capital and community participation indexes were constructed. The aggregated indexes were constructed by summing up several social capital and community participation items in order to present an overall picture of social capital and community participation for each community. Results of this analysis are presented in Chapter Seven.

In summary, Figure 3.2 illustrates the overview of the data collection methods and data analysis used in this research. All methods were designed to capture data in relation to answering the major research questions.

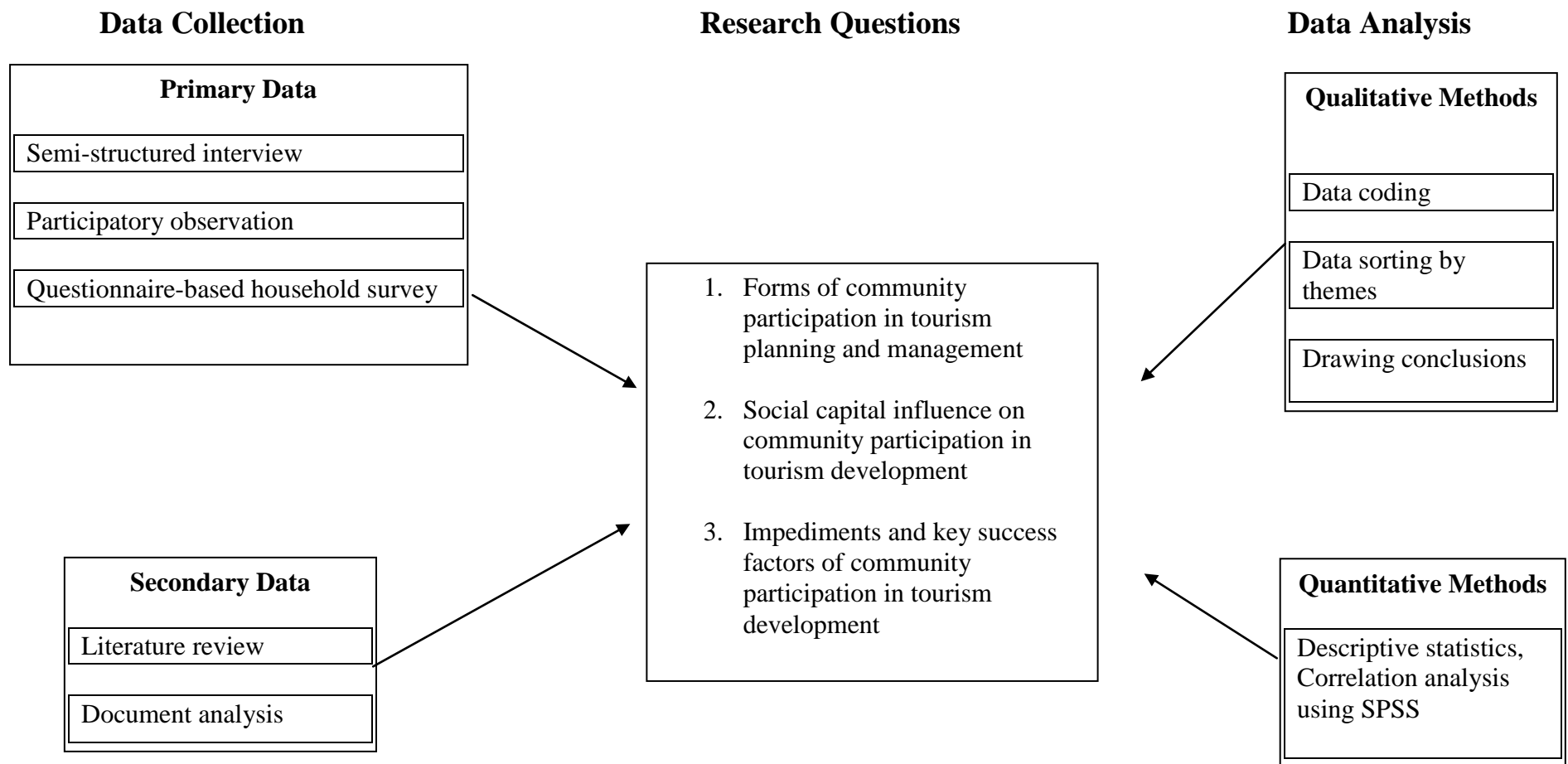


Figure 3.2 Qualitative and quantitative data collection and data analysis

3.4 Research Limitations

There are a few limitations to this research; the limits of generalization, limitations of the survey sample, limitations of wording in the survey questionnaire and time constraints. It is necessary to state the research limitations to remind the end users of this research and other readers to be aware that these limitations may have affected the research reliability to some extent.

First, the research implications derived from multi-case studies cannot be generalised (Yin, 1989). The research focused on two local community case studies in Thailand which have experienced community participation in tourism development. Thus, the outcome may be specific rather than general. However, that outcome may be called 'lessons learned' from the real settings which provided worthy applications and adaptations to new settings having similar contexts.

Second, the limitation of the survey sample from the two case study communities was collected based on a cluster sampling technique. The population in each community was divided geographically into clusters and the samples were selected proportionally from every cluster. Within each cluster, a convenience sampling technique was employed because it helps the data collection to be finished as soon as possible in order to save time and budget. However, although the convenience sampling technique appears to help data collection be done more quickly it also has limitations which means the sample may not be as representative of its population. As found in this research, the sample's gender might not well reflect the population. For example, the sample consisted of more females than males (e.g. approximately 70 and 60 percent of respondents at Mae Kam Pong and Koh Samet were female; this was because usually during the day, men were always working and women more likely to be home). This may limit the validity of the results, which may be dominated by females. Quota sampling regarding gender may have generated a better sample and helped to reduce gender biases, although more time would need to be spent on fieldwork.

Wording used in the questionnaire is very important because it is the guideline to gain data relevance to the research issue; it must be clear and understandable for both the researcher and the respondents. Using the wrong words in questions results in receiving the wrong answers. The example of this is found in this research

questionnaire –the question number 53- which stated that “I feel local people have an influence on decision making...” rather than “I feel I have an influence on decision making...” As a consequence, the result may report that the ‘right to participate in tourism development’ and ‘local people influence on tourism decision making’ do not always correlate. It may gain a high score on ‘local people influence tourism decision making’ but a low score on ‘individual right to participate in tourism development’. This finding indicates that local people may have an influence in tourism decision making, which theoretically seemed good but practically, the term ‘local people’ here may not mean an individual local person has an influence. The response may be interpreted that the respondents considered particular local elites who are local people having power in all tourism decision makings in this village rather than all individuals.

Time constraint is the last limitation to this research. Basically, community participation is a long term process therefore the process of community participation may require a longer period to evaluate whether it is successful or not. For example, collective activities at Koh Samet were initiated by its community organisation to build the awareness of local people about green and clean destinations. However, it was too early to assess its success during the fieldwork period

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has described the research design and research process of this research. The research design section discussed the research methodology which used a case study method. The research setting section provided explanations why and how case study communities were selected to explore community participation in tourism development in Thailand. The research process section described four methods of data collection and data analysis which comprise both qualitative and quantitative research methods and analysis. It is believed that the design and process of this research could generate meaningful and valid results to answer the research questions and to extend the existing body of knowledge of community participation in tourism development, particularly in developing countries. Lastly, the research limitations are presented to remind the readers to avoid exaggerating the research results.

Chapter 4

Thailand: tourism and community participation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter has two aims: to provide general information about Thailand and to provide background information about community participation and tourism development in Thailand. The chapter begins with Thailand in Context, which outlines: people, society and culture, Thailand's economy, Thailand's tourism industry, the political systems, community participation, and tourism development in Thailand. The section of community participation provides both the evolution of the community participation concept and community participation in practice in Thailand. The tourism development section describes the current tourism situation, the national tourism development plan, and the existing supports for community-based tourism development in Thailand. Information presented in this chapter provides important contextual information and informed analysis of the research findings in the following chapters.

4.2 Thailand in Context

Thailand is located in the centre of the South East Asia (see Figure 4.1), covering an area of 513,115 square kilometres and extending about 1,620 kilometres from north to south and 775 kilometres from east to west (Bank of Thailand, 2011). Thailand is a warm tropical country with a monsoon climate and high humidity with an average rainfall of about 1,100 - 1,500 millimetres per year. The temperature of Thailand ranges from 18-34 Celsius degrees. There are three seasons in Thailand: Hot and Dry, from March to May; Rainy, from June to October, and; Cool, from November to February (Tourism Authority of Thailand [TAT], 2011)



Figure 4.1 Map of Thailand

Source: <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/asia/thailand/>

Thailand is divided administratively into 77 provinces located in six regions; North, South, West, East, North East and Central regions which have a range of topography and natural resources. The North region is mountainous with valleys and a number of rivers and streams. During the winter months, the temperature is cool enough in the north to allow the cultivation of cool temperate-zone crops such as coffee and garlic. In contrast, the North East region suffers from frequent droughts, although these are being alleviated by an increasing number of reservoirs and other man-made water facilities. The Central region is very productive as the Chao Phraya River flows through it from the lower north to the Gulf of Thailand. It is one of the most fertile rice growing areas in the world and is often called the “Rice Bowl of Asia”. In 2009, although Thailand was the seventh rice producer and accounted for 4.6 percent of the world’s rice production, Thailand was the largest rice exporter in the world (32.6 %) (FAOSTAT, 2011).



Figure 4.2 Rice fields and farmers in Thailand

Source: Rojana Thammajinda, January 2009

The narrow Southern peninsula, stretching to Malaysia, has coastlines with spectacular beaches along both the Gulf of Thailand and the Indian Ocean with mountainous jungles in many areas. The Southern region is the centre for the production of rubber and the cultivation of other tropical crops. Natural gas deposits in the Gulf of Thailand supply energy for many development projects, particularly along the Eastern seaboard. In addition to a plentiful supply of seafood, the south has extensive deposits of tin and huge plantations of coconuts, cashews and other tropical fruits.

Thailand's capital is Bangkok which is also the largest city in terms of population, at about 5.7 million people (Department of Provincial Administration [DOPA], 2009). It is the centre of Thailand where the majority of government ministries and authorities, academic institutes, business corporations, industrial factories, the main international airport and shipping ports are located.



Figure 4.3 Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand

Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>

4.3 People, society and culture

Thailand's population in the year 2011 was 64.08 million, with 31.53 million males and 32.55 million females (DOPA, 2011). Thailand is one of the strongest Buddhist countries in the world. The last Census (2000) revealed that Buddhism was the main religion for Thai people (93.8%) followed by Muslims (4.6%) (National Statistical Office [NSO], 2000). The literacy rate of adults over 15 years is 93.5 percent (95.6 % for males and 91.5 % for females); Thailand's literacy rate is the second highest in South East Asia after Singapore (96%) (UNESCO Institute for Statistics [UIS], 2005). The official national language of the country is 'Thai' which has both spoken and written forms. There are different dialects spoken among the local people in each region but people can generally understand each other through the use of the official Thai language.

As Buddhism is the main religion in Thailand, Buddhist teachings remain at the root of the Thai people's typical consideration for others that is embodied in the virtue known as "Nam Chai" - a concept encompassing spontaneous warmth and compassion that provides Buddhists with a high willingness to offer help to friends as well as other people suffering from poverty or in trouble (Johnson, 2003; Mahidol University, 2002). This nature of Thai people generally impresses visitors with its friendliness and hospitality. At present in some urban areas, this custom may be seen less often due to the larger populations, modernisation of life-styles and city people being more wary around strangers than the rural people. Buddhism also lies behind such common expressions as "Mai Pen Rai" (which means never mind or it doesn't matter) when something unfortunate happens, reflecting the attitude that one must gracefully submit to external forces beyond one's control and avoid blaming someone else (Mahidol University, 2002). This attitude makes Thai society quite a compromising society.



Figure 4.4 Thai Temples and Thai way of life

Source: from Mahidol University, 2002

Although highly individualistic and resisting regimentation, Thai people nevertheless realize that inner freedom is best preserved in an emotionally and physically stable environment. Therefore, they believe that social harmony is best maintained by avoiding any unnecessary friction in their contacts with others. From this has grown the strong Thai feeling of “Kreng Chai” which means an extreme reluctance to impose on anyone or disturb another’s personal equilibrium by direct criticism, challenge or confrontation (Mahidol University, 2002). Generally, Thai people will do their utmost to avoid personal conflict particularly among familiar people. Straightforward critiques or strong disagreements often create conflicts because someone (especially, the superior) may lose face and this may lead to lower co-operation which may gradually undermine social cohesion.

Thai culture as presented above seem to be a good environment for social capital to be developed at the community level through qualities such as norms of reciprocity and limited conflicts. However, it is possible if the Thai character of compromise and conflict avoidance might impede local people’s participation in tourism planning and decision making.

4.4 Thailand's economy

The Thai currency is the Baht, with approximately 31.7270 Baht equal to a US\$ dollar and 22.8335 Baht to a NZ\$ dollar (2010 average rate) (Bank of Thailand, 2011).

According to the Kasikorn Research Centre, in 2006, the Thai economy was the second largest economy in South East Asia after Indonesia, with a GDP of approximately US\$ 200 billion. For the period 2000-2008, the GDP of Thailand increased continuously with an annual growth rate of 5.3 to 8.6.percent (Figure 4.5), however, the annual GDP growth rate has slightly declined in 2009 due to the world economic recession. Thailand economy had recovered quickly in a year later and produced the GDP of 10,015.8 billion baht in 2011.

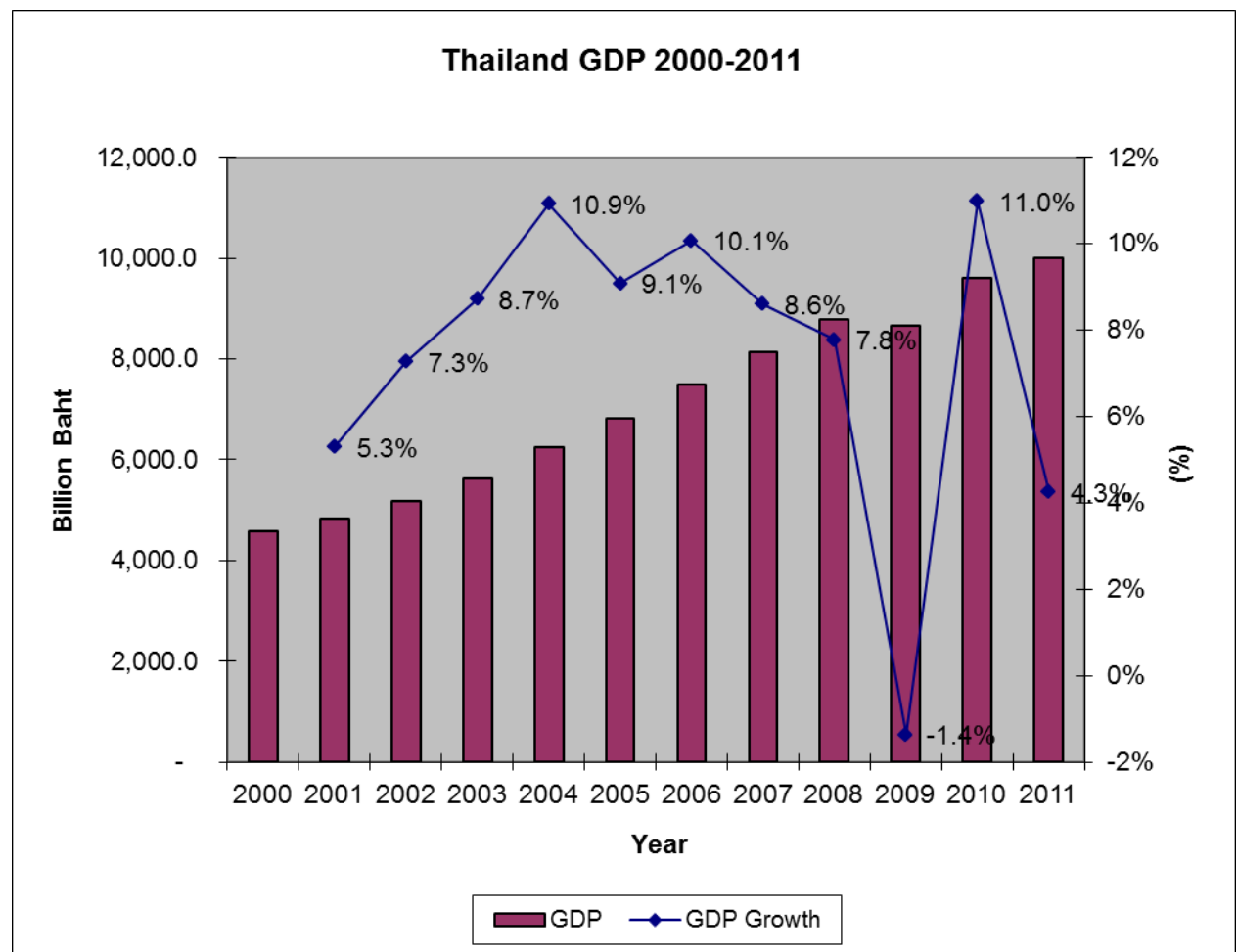


Figure 4.5 Thailand GDP from 2000 to 2011

Source: Bank of Thailand (2012)

Manufacturing is the largest sector in the Thai economy (Table 4.1) accounting for 28.6 percent of 2011 GDP followed by Wholesale and Retail trade (12.8%) and

Agriculture, Hunting and Forestry (12.8%). Before 2010, there was no official record of the tourism sector in Thailand. Therefore, the value of the tourism industry has been collected from several sectors such as Hotels and Restaurants, and partially from Transport, Storage and Communications sector, and Retail Trade sector. The first official national income of the tourism sector was recorded by MOTS, in August 2010. This record revealed that tourism accounted for 7.91 percent of Thailand's GDP, in 2009 (MOTS, 2010).

Table 4.1 The structure of Thailand's economy

Sector	2011 (Million baht)	(%)
Agriculture	1,280,584	12.8%
Agriculture, Hunting and Forestry	1,177,488	11.8%
Fishing	103,096	1.0%
Non-Agriculture	8,735,241	87.2%
Mining and Quarrying	296,867	3.0%
Manufacturing	2,865,494	28.6%
Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	274,740	2.7%
Construction	260,346	2.6%
Wholesale and Retail Trade; Repair of Motor Vehicles, Motorcycles and Personal and Household Goods	1,285,854	12.8%
Hotels and Restaurants	327,272	3.3%
Transport, Storage and Communications	725,876	7.2%
Financial Intermediation	588,358	5.9%
Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities	624,807	6.2%
Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security	703,436	7.0%
Education	455,407	4.5%
Health and Social Work	164,648	1.6%
Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities	151,402	1.5%
Private Households with Employed Persons	10,734	0.1%
Gross Domestic Product, (GDP)	10,015,825	100.0%

Source: 2011 National Income of Thailand by Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board

4.5 Thailand's tourism industry in a regional and global context

Over the last six decades, the world's tourism industry has expanded dramatically. The number of international arrivals increased from 25 million in 1950 to 880 million in 2009 with an average annual growth rate of 6.1 percent (UNWTO, 2010). In terms of tourism receipts, it expanded over 400 times, from \$US 2.1 billion, in 1950, to \$US 852 billion, in 2009 (UNWTO, 2010). The UNWTO's Tourism 2020 Vision forecasted that the East Asia/Pacific region, of which Thailand is a part, will be the second most popular tourist region and gain market share of one-fourth of the world's tourists by 2020 (UNWTO, 2010). Europe will retain the highest share of tourism,

although its market share will continue to decline from 60 percent, in 1995, to 46 percent in 2020 (UNWTO, 2007a). Average annual tourism growth in the East Asia/Pacific region was predicted to be 6.5 percent between 1995 and 2020, while the average annual growth rate globally will be 4.1 percent (UNWTO, 2007b). In 2009, under the impact of the worldwide financial crisis and economic recession, worldwide international tourist arrivals declined by 4.2 percent (UNWTO, 2010).

The tourism industry in Thailand has grown dramatically in the last five decades with arrivals increasing from 81,000 in 1960 to 19.1 million, in 2011 (Figure 4.6) (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998; UNWTO, 2012). Thailand's tourism receipts increased rapidly from \$US 4,326 million, in 1990, to \$US 26,256 million, in 2011 (UNWTO, 2012). In South East Asia, Thailand recorded the second largest number of international tourist arrivals after Malaysia (UNWTO, 2007a & 2010). From Figure 4.6, Thailand tourist arrivals grew aggressively from 1990 to 2006 and began flattening after that period due to the impact of financial crisis and economic recession. However, the number of tourist arrivals began increasing again since 2009.

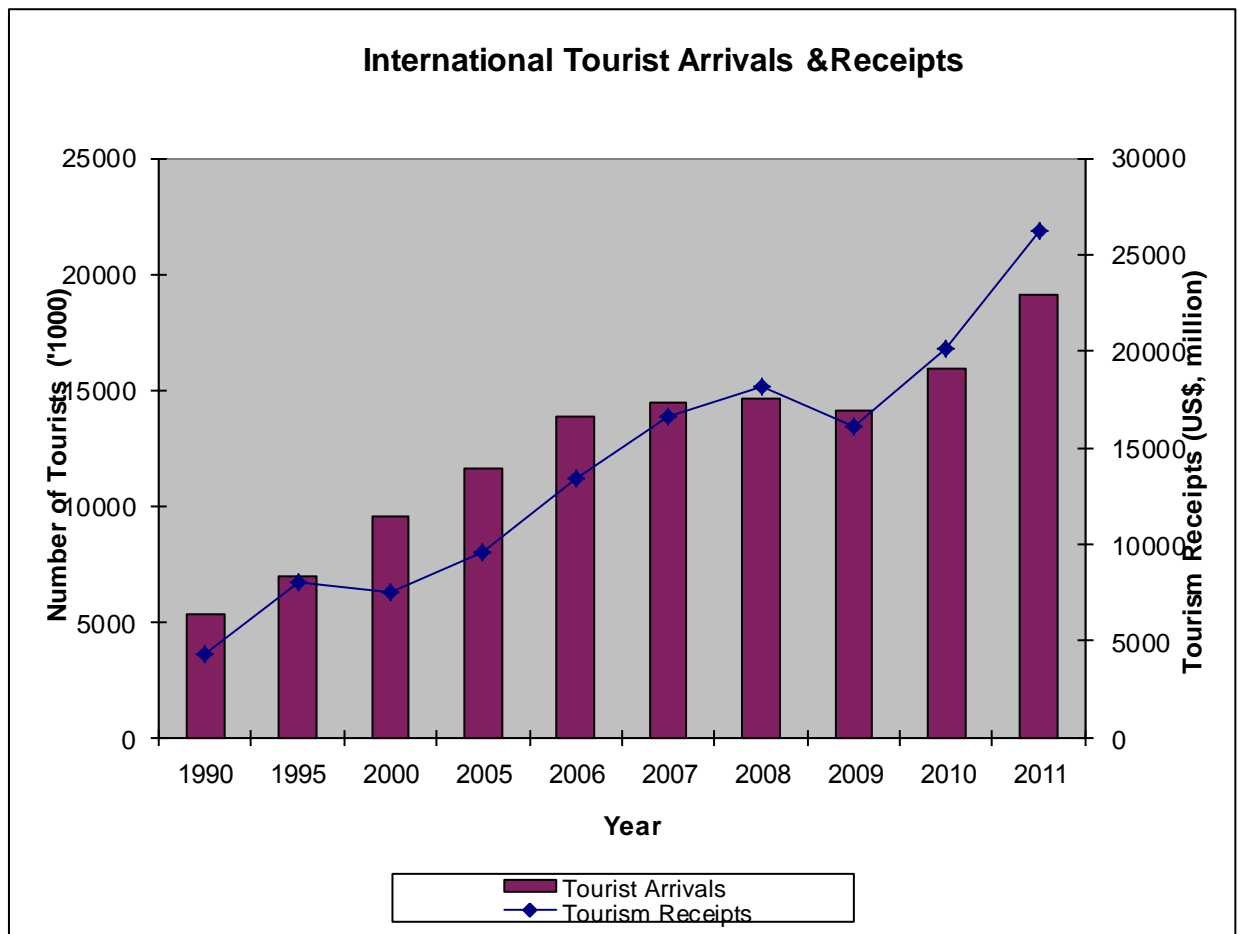


Figure 4.6 Thailand International Tourist Arrivals and Receipts

Source: Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998 & UNWTO, 2012

Major attraction categories in Thailand are natural attractions (such as beaches and bays, islands, mountain, waterfalls), cultural and heritage attractions (such as historic sites, museums, art and craft centres), and places of worship such as temples. From the 3,458 attractions all over the country, there are 270 suburban living attractions – one category of Thailand attractions which includes villages and communities, floating markets and local markets (TAT, 2012). Thailand is also known for sex tourism throughout the world since the period of American military presence in the region from 1965 to 1975 (Cohen, 1996).

The success of the Thai tourism industry has partially resulted from aggressive and intensive campaigns undertaken by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) as well as the global expansion of the airline industry. Many activities have been undertaken by TAT, such as participation in global travel trade shows and regional road shows.

The “Amazing Thailand” campaign, which operated from 1998 to 1999, was promoted to strengthen Thailand’s brand in the world market. Furthermore, TAT has been heavily promoting new tourism products in alternative destinations all over the country to reduce congestion in popular destinations. This strategy increased the alternatives for tourists interested in making a repeat visit to Thailand. In 2004, Thailand was recognized by many global public media, for example, by being voted by the Conde Nast Traveller magazine as the best tourism destination worldwide. It was ranked in the top 10 Most Pleasant Tourist Destinations by the American Airlines magazine, and called the “World’s Best Tourist Country” by the Scandinavian Travel Trade Magazine (UNWTO, 2004).

4.6 Political system of Thailand

The political system in Thailand changed from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy in 1932. According to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (2007), Thailand is governed under a democratic regime with the King as the Head of State. The head of government is the Prime Minister. Under the 2007 Constitution, the two chamber (bicameral) Thai legislature is called the National Assembly or Parliament. The Thai Parliament consists of a House of Representatives, of 500 seats, and a Senate, of 150 seats. The House of Representatives is made up of 375 members from constituency elections (Constituency MPs) and 125 members from proportional representation (Party-List MPs). The Senate is made up of 77 elected members (one for each province) and the rest (73) are selected from candidates nominated by the Senate Selection Committee, from academia and the public, private, professional and other sectors. Members of the House of Representatives serve four-year terms, while Senators serve six-year terms.

At the local level, the political system in Thailand operates under the Tambon Council and Tambon Administrative Authority Act (TCTAAA) 1994. A Tambon is a sub-district which combines many villages together; each Tambon has a Tambon Administrative Authority (TAA) to act as the local government body responsible for the public administration of the Tambon; for example, maintaining public facilities, disaster protection and alleviation, education, religious and cultural promotion, supporting and developing women, children, senior citizens and disabled people, environmental maintenance and protection, conservation of local wisdom, arts,

customs and traditions as well as tourism support (Thambon Council and Thambon Administrative Authority Act [TCTAAA] 1994).

The TAA includes the TAA council and the TAA administrative committee. The council members are elected from each village every four years. The council's role is to consider and approve the Thambon development plan, Thambon rules and regulations, and budget as well as to monitor and control the TAA administrative committee's operation. The TAA administrative committee comprises a chairman, two administrative committees and a secretary, who are all selected from the TAA council members. The TAA administrative committee is the body authorized to develop and implement the Thambon development plan.

One of the challenges facing the TAA is that it is a relatively recently established system (formed in 1994), and there are some difficulties in dealing with administrative works at the local level due to lack of experience. The study of "the capacity of local government in Thailand: impacts on and responses to sustainable tourism development" by Churungsa (2004) revealed that there were several limitations for TAA in response to sustainable tourism development; for example, more emphasis on basic infrastructure development than conserved local resources, lack of knowledge of the TAA officials and lack of collaboration with other government units. Arguably, TAA is the local government agency responsible for local community development in all aspects, thus, tourism is only one of many tasks with which the TAA management is concerned.

4.7 Community Participation in Thailand

4.7.1 Evolution of the Community Participation concept in Thailand

As stated above, in 1932, Thailand changed its governance system from a monarchy to a democracy. The first democratic movement was not a real democracy because it was dominated by the military and bureaucrats. In this way, political power did not belong to citizens, but the revolution had changed political power from the monarchy to bureaucrats, thus the new system was called a 'Bureaucratic polity' which was a form of authoritarianism (Nimpanich, 2005). The bureaucrats had the highest political powers in political decision making, whereas other non-bureaucratic forces such as businesses, labourers and farmers were not strong and had less influential roles in

government decision making. After 1973, the Thai political power structure was changed by a revolution of citizens led by the more highly educated people. As a consequence, political power was transferred again, but from the bureaucrats to the business elites rather than the citizens (Nimpanich, 2005). This political system can be called a 'plutocracy'. These business elites or capitalists had not only established an alliance with the bureaucrats in order to maintain mutual benefits but also entered the political system by election to be involved directly in policy making processes. During that period, the government therefore, focused on economic development more than other areas of development (Nimpanich, 2005).

'The New Politics' or 'Citizen Politics' emerged in 1997 when the new constitution was announced. This constitution was called 'The Citizen Constitution' because it was the first time in Thai history that broad-based citizen participation was involved in the production of the constitution so it placed more emphasis on public participation in government decision making (Bureekul, 2000). Its fifth chapter identifies the Directive Principles of Fundamental State Policies in section 76 as:

Government must support public participation in policy determination, political decision making, political, economic and social development planning as well as participation in auditing or monitoring the use of power by government in every level (Nimpanich, 2005, p 12).

Ten years later, the Thai people received a new constitution, the constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, B. E. 2550 (2007). The new constitution outlines the nature of 'public participation' more clearly and 'community rights' were much more prominent and more clearly defined (The Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, 2007), being in an individual section under Chapter III (See Appendix C). The 2007 Constitution clearly states that the government has to encourage public participation in policy determination and planning for economic and social development and also encourage people to participate in monitoring the public administration. The Constitution also stipulates that supports should be provided for establishing a citizen political development fund and providing knowledge about the democratic regime of government (see Appendix C).

Community rights were also emphasised in the 2007 constitution which allowed communities the right to conserve local wisdom and natural resources. In addition, communities also had the right to utilise and maintain natural resources for making a

living. Any development proposals which may severely affect communities are required to undertake an environmental impact assessment (EIA) and the developers must hold public hearings amongst the relevant stakeholders, particularly the affected communities. Communities also have the right by law to sue the government authorities if they feel that the government has not acted to uphold this law.

The Public Hearing Regulation was initially enacted in 1996 under the Secretariat Office of the Prime Minister in order to provide a guideline for government agencies arranging public hearings. This regulation was not a law, but a rule for public administration and recently was modified and named the Public Hearing Regulation 2005. At present, it is the only regulation supporting the laws relating to public participation in Thailand (Tassanakulaphan, 2008). A public hearing is only one method of public participation but in the Thai context, there is some confusion between the meanings of public participation and a public hearing (Bureekul, 2000). According to this regulation, the public is allowed only to advise and consult on government projects (provide and gain information), but not to be involved in decision making which has been reserved as the role of government authorities (Muneenam & Ratanachai, 2007).

In Thailand, promoting public participation is officially undertaken by the Office of the Public Sector Development Commission of Thailand (OPDC) in order to provide understanding about public participation at all levels of governments so the authorities act in accordance with the constitution of the kingdom of Thailand, B.E. 2550 (2007). However, when considering the promotion of public participation directly to citizens, there is a lack of an official organisation responsible for this mission. In the current situation of Thailand, it seems to be the role of academic institutions and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) to provide knowledge about citizen rights to participate in public issues, including community participation in tourism development (Bureekul, 2000).

The framework of public participation was developed by the OPDC in order to be a practical guideline for the implementation at all government levels. This framework was adopted from the International Association for Public Participation (IAP), which classifies a spectrum of public participation into five levels from 'inform' to 'empower'.

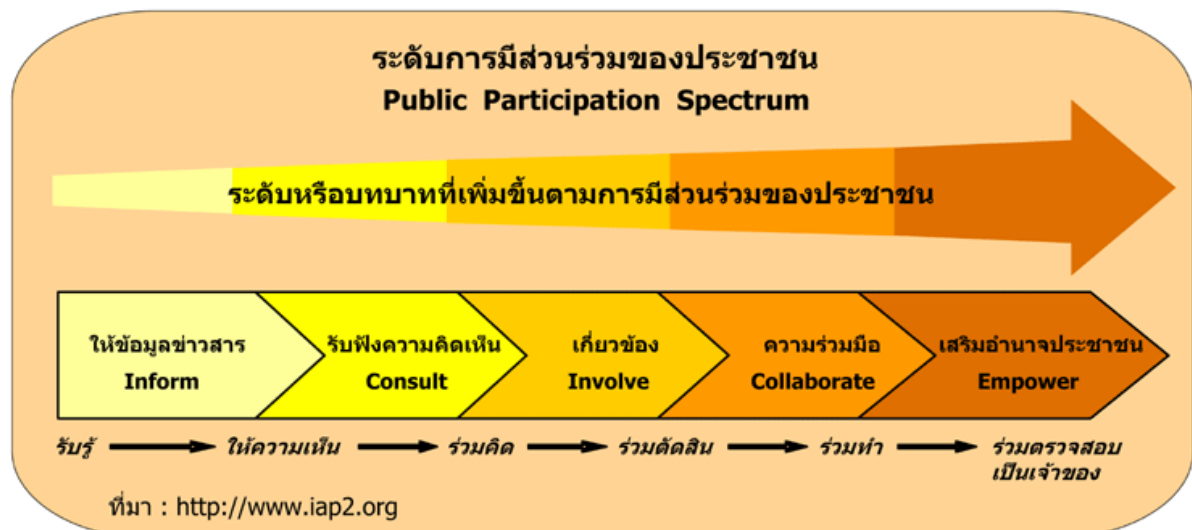


Figure 4.7 Public Participation Spectrum applying in Thailand

Source: from the Pollution Control Department, 2011

The first level, ‘inform’, means to provide information to assist the public in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions. The second, ‘consult’, involves obtaining public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions. The third, ‘involve’, means working with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered. The fourth, ‘collaborate’, is to partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution. The last, ‘empower’, is the highest level of participation which means to place decision-making in the hands of the public.

When compared with Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation (see Chapter 2), the participation spectrum used in Thailand appears to have the same ultimate goal to empower people as in Arnstein’s ‘citizen control’ category. Noticeably, the participation spectrum used in Thailand begins from ‘inform’ which is equal to ‘informing’ in Arnstein’s model, but Arnstein’s model has the ‘manipulation’ rung below the ‘informing’. It is doubtful that there is any lower level than ‘inform’ for practical community participation in Thailand, as currently there are situations in which.

Besides promoting ‘participatory governance’ which emphasises that the public administration of all government authorities needs to be more open and allow more citizen participation, another avenue to developing public participation in Thailand

has been to strengthen community organisations by establishing the Community Organisations Development Institute (CODI) in October 2000. CODI is a public organisation under The Ministry of Social Development and Human Security. It aims to strengthen the society by strengthening the community organisations and a civil society. CODI's development perspectives include livelihood, housing, environment, community well-being and financial supports (Community Organisations Development Institute [CODI], 2011). There has been some progress with these issues; for example, the approval of 200,218 units of Ban Man Kong projects² up until 2011 and the establishment of 191 Tambon welfare funds, with funding from central, local government and the communities. CODI has provided community loans to approximately 4,000 communities also. Furthermore, there has been much expansion in community organisation and network registration with CODI which had almost 37,000 community organisations in 2007 (CODI, 2011).

4.7.2 Community Participation in practice in Thailand

In Thailand at present, the word 'public participation' is widely spoken of by both government agencies and citizens as it was emphasised in the 1997 and 2007 constitutions. But, in fact, many obstacles concerning the application of public participation in the Thai context remain; for example, definitions, methods and processes in applying public participation are not clear (Bureekul, 2000). Consequently, its interpretation and implementation in practice has a wide range depending on the views of the administrators of each government agency. One example to illustrate this problem is that sometimes public hearings are held after a decision has been made due to the lack of a good understanding of the real rationale behind the concept of public participation (Bureekul, 2000).

It can be seen that both the constitution of Thailand and the establishment of authorities to develop community organisations (CODI) are factors that support effective public participation in Thai society. However, in reality, how much had been achieved in Thailand remains unclear. At the end of the twentieth century Rattanasuwongchai (1998) stated that local people are seldom involved in decision making, planning or implementing policies as they have limited knowledge and are easily misled by outside investors. According to Wisansing (2004), meaningful public

² Ban Man Kong project means the project of house provision for poor people

participation in Thailand is rarely visible and this lack of participation resulted from a lack of awareness by local residents about their rights and opportunities to participate in TAA meetings.

The first record of a successful case of public participation in environmental management in Thailand appears to be the victory of the opponents of a government project to build Nam Choan Dam in Thung Yai Naresuan wildlife sanctuary in Kanchanaburi province during the 1980s (Bureekul, 2000). This event became a significant driving force in Thailand's environmental movement. Since then the public participation concept has become more widely accepted as an essential part of policies, programmes and project development that may affect communities, people and the environment. There are other examples illustrating a strong awareness by people and high engagement in protest activities to oppose government development projects or claim their rights. Examples include protests over changing the Lumpini Recreation Area to be a garage for sky trains and road construction in the Thung Yai Naresuan Wildlife Sanctuary. The declaration of Rayong Province to be a pollution control zone after it was promoted as an industrial zone for many decades and claiming fairer compensation for local people affected by the Mae Mor lignite power plant are results of public protests also (Bureekul, 2000; Limapornwanich, 2009).

Noticeably, the forms of participation given as examples are mostly protests, which involved direct pressure from the affected people towards government and normally happened after the decision has been made and some projects have even started construction. This phenomenon reflects the fact that public participation is still a new issue in Thailand in which all stakeholders whether citizen sector, private sector or government sector are still in the process of learning and searching for a clearer understanding about participatory democracy.

To date, public participation has been seen rarely in the initial stage of development projects in Thailand, where it would truly allow citizens to engage in the decision making process. At present, most government projects appeared to be at the first and second public participation spectrum of the IAP model - 'inform' and 'consult' - while a few projects have attempted to increase participation to the higher level of 'involvement', however there is little evidence of success to date (Limapornwanich, 2009). A major concern has been the difficulty in building a clear understanding of

project information (i.e. 'pros and cons' and EIA) to grassroots people to gain accurate information at the right time with most project information provided to the public too late (Limapornwanich, 2009). This appears to be a common problem for government development projects in Thailand and has resulted in a large gap between people's perceived information and the facts.

One example of poor public access to information in Thailand was the Hin Krud Coal-Fired power plant case when public participation in environmental management failed to respond to local people's needs and resulted in an increase in violent conflicts among stakeholders because the contract was signed and the construction had begun before local people had received any details about the project, and before any public hearing had been held ("The move of Bor Nok-Hin Krud", 2003). Bureekul (2000) suggests that hiring local people as public relations officers for the project may help increase trust between the communities and the project developers. Personal familiarity among local people will not only lessen suspicions but also increase efficiency of the dissemination of information about the project throughout the communities.

At present, Thai people have more awareness of their right to participate in public issues and this has increased demand for public participation in Thailand. However, there are still many barriers limiting the effectiveness of participation in practice (see also Section 2.4 in Chapter 2). Arguably, one root of the problem that limited public participation in Thai society is the long-established bureaucratic system which ensured centralized control in nearly all aspects of public management. As a consequence, people have become used to being governed and having a bureaucracy to manage everything for them and so have gradually lost their capacity to manage their own problems (Ganjanapan, 1998). In other words, the Thai people have a history of paying much respect to social elites or powerful and influential persons in order to gain protection and support and aid from those elites; people have traditionally traded off their labour and loyalty for this protection, which can be called a patronage system. This has caused people to be unfamiliar with expressing their own opinions and to avoid confrontations and conflicts (Nimpanich, 2005).

4.8 Tourism development in Thailand

4.8.1 Current tourism situation in Thailand

The considerable growth of the tourism industry in Thailand has provided potentially a great opportunity for the country to gain benefits from tourism development. However, Thai people, particularly host communities, generally have to face the negative impacts of tourism development while often receiving only small benefits as currently, local people in Thailand have little opportunities to participate and gain benefit from tourism development in their areas. Rattanasuwongchai (1998) states that one of the five constraints in rural tourism in Thailand is lack of local involvement; local people are seldom involved in tourism decision making, planning and implementing tourism policies.

As outlined in Chapter Two, one of the problems of tourism development in developing countries, such as Thailand, is the limited income distribution to grass-roots people who mostly farm and live in rural areas (Kaosa-ard, 1994; Pleumarom, 2007; Pongponrat & Pongquan, 2008). The growth of tourism has also attracted outside investors to establish tourism businesses in many tourist destinations and consequently, the outsiders become major leaders in the destinations rather than local people, controlling tourism development. Tourism development in Thailand in the past took a tourist-oriented approach; many facilities were developed to satisfy tourists' needs. Local residents were only low paid labourers in the tourism industry and there seemed to be a weak linkage between local products, such as handicrafts and agriculture, and tourism (Rattanasuwongchai, 1998). A study named "Is tourism-based development good for the poor? A general equilibrium analysis for Thailand" reveals that although tourism expansion in Thailand benefits the whole country's economy, the gains are concentrated in some groups, particularly high income and non-agricultural households. Therefore, tourism expansion may not be a pro-poor policy as long as the owners of primary factors in agriculture and other labour-intensive tradable sectors do not participate in tourism-related activities (Wattanakuljarus & Coxhead, 2007).

Another impact of tourism development in Thailand has been a lag in the provision of tourism facilities in some popular areas which has led to negative effects such as insufficient water supplies (mostly on islands) and inadequate waste management

systems (Kaosa-ard, 1994). These impacts have caused a rapid and severe depreciation of many tourism destinations in Thailand. A survey conducted by TAT, in 1997, revealed that there were 172 tourism destinations located in 49 provinces throughout the country classified as deteriorated destinations. The list was updated to 179 deteriorated destinations in 49 provinces in 1999 (TAT, 2000). They were classified based on six groups of problems including physical problems, tourism infrastructure, environment, tourist life and property security, tourism activities, and administration and management problems. The most frequent problems found in the 179 deteriorated destinations were physical problems; for example, tourism destination design (some non-harmonised building detracting from a destination's natural beauty), people's encroachment on public areas, accessibility, landscape and tourism resources damage, and dilapidated buildings in tourism areas. Community involvement in tourism planning might increase the chances to ameliorate these detrimental impacts associated with tourism (Haywood, 1988).

Although the tourism industry in Thailand has increased significantly over the last few decades and played a significant role in the country's economy, from the evidence above it seems the people in Thailand, particularly in rural areas, have gained very few benefits from tourism development. It is a challenge for the Thai government to ensure tourism benefit distribution is more equitable over the whole country and all sections of the population, thereby leading to sustainable development of the nation and its people.

4.8.2 The current support for community tourism development in Thailand

Since there has been much research conducted about tourism impacts (environmental, economic, social or cultural) in Thailand, the concern of reducing impacts and enhancing sustainability has become a significant issue among academics, planners, community developers, environmentalists and NGOs (Elliott, 1983). Therefore, the first campaign to promote the conservation tourism concept was launched in 1990, by TAT which focussed on development coupled with conservation for the protection of Thai tourism. Three aspects of sustainable tourism development have been proposed: the need to preserve the environment and natural resources, the need for education for both tourists and local people, and the need to generate a democratic movement which

helps people at all levels to participate in tourism development (Rattanasuwongchai, 1998).

Alternative tourism in Thailand gained more attention in the mid-1990s. Community-based tourism appears to be the most popular form of alternative tourism in Thailand, for instance village tours, home-stays, agro tourism, cultural tourism, trekking, crafts tours and local museums. These activities are usually small scale, low investment, located in primitive and remote areas and managed by local communities. However, currently ecotourism development in Thailand still had weak points in terms of ideology, management processes and distribution of benefits that impeded the expansion of alternative tourism in Thailand (Leksakundilok, 2004). Information from the TAT web site revealed that only five percent of tourist destinations nationwide (270 communities) are promoted as destinations for experiencing local ways of life (TAT, 2012). Similarly, there were only 80 communities promoted on the 'HomeStayThai' web site (MOTS, 2011).

Promoting community-based tourism in Thailand has involved several agencies such as The Ministry of Tourism and Sports, TAT, Community Development Department (CDD), and Thailand Community Based Tourism Institute (CBT-I). The Department of Tourism (DOT) is the official government authority under the Ministry of Tourism and Sports which directly responsible for tourism development in Thailand. It was established in October 2002 taking over part of the mission from TAT restricting the TAT's role to responsibility for public relations and marketing promotions (Nirantrakul, 2004). The DOT mission focuses on nationwide tourism planning and development. An interview with the DOT officer³ as part of the current research revealed that there was currently no direct tourism policy to promote community-based tourism in Thailand (Interview, January 19, 2009). However, indirect promotional strategies for community-based tourism can be seen including the production and distribution of a community-based tourism development manual and the integration of community involvement as an indicator for the Thailand Tourism Standard.

The development of the Thailand Tourism Standard which originated between 2004 and 2006 is one of DOT's outstanding performances to date. This is a national tourism

³ The interviewee is Chief, Tourism Norms and Standard Development Section

standard which aims to upgrade Thailand's tourism industry to reach international standards via an accreditation system aimed at guaranteeing and ensuring the quality of tourism services and destinations to tourists. The tourism standards comprise six categories; accommodation standards, tourism service standards, tourism activity standards and tourism destination standards. Some standards had involved community-based tourism activities, for example, standards for home stays, rafting, hiking, flora observation, ecotourism attractions, natural attractions, cultural attractions and historical attractions. Some examples of indicators involving communities are found in the 'Home Stay Standard' (DOT, 2009): a creation of learning exchange activity between hosts and guests; local traditions and culture conservation; maintaining local way of life; and promoting local products. At present (May 2012), there are 25 types of tourism standards used in tourism industry in Thailand (Interview, January 9, 2009).



Figure 4.8 Thailand tourism standard mark

Source: Department of Tourism, 2009

For TAT, its main role has been emphasising tourism marketing in Thailand, including community-based tourism. Strategies TAT has used for promoting community-based tourism included the “remarkable tourism community award” as a new category in the Thailand Tourism Awards Scheme awarded in 2007. Village visits and assessments are conducted by a judging committee and are based on four criteria including tourism operation (focusing the sufficient economy concept where tourism services are provided based on local resources), community empowerment in tourism development, having potential and ability to manage tourism, and having basic tourism resources and facilities. In 2007, 62 communities nationwide (including

Mae Kam Pong) were rewarded and have been promoted throughout the country by TAT as a result of this reward (“Thailand Tourism Awards”, 2008).

Designated Areas for Sustainable Tourism Administration (DASTA) is a public organisation established by the Royal Thai Government, in 2003, under the authority of the Prime Minister’s office which was established to initiate a holistic development approach that emphasised an integrated administration system in designated areas to reach the ultimate goal of being a sustainable tourism destination. It has four major steps of integrative sustainable tourism development for a designated area, which includes selecting designated areas for sustainable tourism development, proclaiming the designated areas, establishing an office and advisory committee for the proclaimed area and setting up a framework of sustainable tourism development that includes a tourism master plan and operating schemes for the area. Currently, DASTA has proclaimed two designated areas for sustainable tourism development, which were Koh Chang Cluster Designated Area and Chiang Mai Night Safari Designated Area. In addition, four high potential areas, namely, Koh Samed Cluster in Rayong, Nongteng-Chakkarat forest in Nakhon Ratchasima, Leam Thour-Ngok in Kanchanaburi, and Koh Lanta Cluster in Krabi were intensively explored with master plans made for sustainable tourism development.

For the Community Development Department (CDD), expanding from the OTOP promoting scheme, the OTOP Village Champion (OVC) project was established in 2006 and aims to develop tourism villages in Thailand. Its activities have involved selecting 80 villages from throughout the country (including Mae Kam Pong) that have a high potential for tourism development and then providing training to the village members to develop their own tourism development plans. Outputs from these villages are expected to be prototypes for other villages throughout the country. There were 309 village candidates nominated, from which, 80 villages were selected and rewarded by participation in the tourism village development project (Suttisawang, 2007).

The Thailand Community Based Tourism Institute (CBT-I) was also established in 2006. Its vision is to provide support and facilitate cooperation among stakeholders from grassroots to international levels, in order to strengthen the capacity of Thai communities to manage tourism sustainably (CBI-T, 2010). CBT-I goals include:

providing facilitation for community-based tourism research and development initiatives which strengthen local communities and support sustainable natural resource management; building the capacity of Thai Community-based Tourism Networks to cooperate with the private sector and to advocate for community-based tourism policy; facilitating co-operation among stakeholders to support CBT; acting as a Thai community-based tourism information centre; and providing community-based tourism training services. From the CBT-I web site, at May 2012, there were 23 communities registered as members (including Mae Kam Pong).

In Thailand, currently there is still no particular policy or framework from the government sector to support community-based tourism (Leksakundilok, 2004). Community-based tourism development policy in Thailand seems to be at the initial stage with only a few measures launched. The development of a Thailand tourism standard may be a good policy to upgrade the tourism industry in Thailand but it seems to have few incentives to attract tour operators, communities and other tourism actors to participate. Being awarded a Thailand tourism standard may benefit the winners to be recognised during the press release period but afterwards their names are rarely promoted by DOT or TAT. In this circumstance, this reward may not be attractive because it could not facilitate marketing networks between the communities and external tourism agencies; these networks are hardly established by the communities themselves. The networks with external agencies are important to promote community-based tourism to be well known nationwide.

Overall, measures to support community-based tourism development in Thailand appear to be in the form of incentives rather than direct support. Although a few training sessions have been arranged, they are often restricted to the awarded-communities while other communities are neglected. Incentive measures such as a Thailand tourism award or a Thailand tourism standard are necessary, but they are not sufficient to promote community-based tourism in Thailand overall. Incentive measures alone might not be sufficient because there were a great number of conditions to be overcome to reach the national standard for an award, restricting applications to communities that are capable and ready to be assessed, while a great number of communities nationwide may not be able to get themselves prepared for the assessment without external help. There is a vital need for other support measures to strengthen the weaker communities to be more capable and have various ways in

participating and benefiting from tourism whether being a destination or in the other ways such as producing supply products for tourism industry. The measures needed may include providing knowledge and financial supports, training, site visiting or launching a campaign encouraging tourism enterprises to use more local products.

4.8.3 National Tourism Development Plan of Thailand

Tourism development planning in Thailand was first placed on the national agenda in April, 2009 by The Ministry of Tourism and Sports (MOTS). Previously, tourism plans were developed by TAT; although they were included in several national development plans, they have mostly been concerned with increasing tourist arrivals, marketing, and physical development in terms of infrastructure, access and facilities (Rattanasuwongchai, 1998). 'A Draft Strategic Plan to Overcome Crisis and to Stimulate the Tourism Industry from 2009 to 2012' was developed to deal with threats facing the Thai tourism industry from the world economic crisis, political conflicts and instabilities, and the A(H1N1) influenza pandemic, all of which had strong effects on the tourism industry. In this Draft Plan, the issue of lack of community participation was raised as a concern in relation to tourism development.

In this new plan, it can be seen that the government of Thailand has now begun emphasising a more holistic view of tourism development than in the previous policies which have prioritised the economic perspective. In this plan, tourism development comprises various areas including physical development, human resource development, increasing tourist life and property security restrictions, tourism product development and improving co-ordination among tourism stakeholders. This Draft Strategic Plan indicates a good direction of tourism development in Thailand. However, although a good plan is developed it is challenging to overcome all problems and obstacles to tourism development. It might take many years to show how well this plan will succeed in practice. The next section explores the current supports for community-based tourism development in Thailand to illustrate the environment where local communities could receive assistance or support in tourism development.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter provides information about Thailand, the research setting for the case study communities. Thailand context including economy, tourism industry, people, society and culture, and political systems are described first. Then, the specific issues relevant to this research: community participation and tourism development are presented. These two issues are analysed both in terms of ‘in paper’ and ‘in practice’.

It appears that there are some factors that support community participation in Thailand such as the 2007 constitution of Thailand and the decentralisation of public administration which have all placed more emphasis on community participation. In addition, incentive measures such as the award scheme and the national tourism standard accreditation have been launched to promote community-based tourism in Thailand in the last decade. It appears that Mae Kam Pong - one of the case study communities in this research is an outstanding community achieving several awards while Koh Samet achieved none of these, which may be due to Koh Samet being long established and far more developed than the scope of community-based tourism.

Promoting community based tourism by the government may help support communities to develop and manage community based tourism by themselves. However, community based tourism is just a small sector among various forms of tourism development in Thailand such as high-end resorts or shopping malls which mostly are not involved with local people and communities. As discussed in Chapter Two, local people have a right to participate in any decision which may affect their lives. In the current tourism context in Thailand, however, there is still a lack of opportunities for grassroots people to participate or have an influence on tourism development, particularly, in the popular destinations where tourism development is often dominated by outside investors. It is important to understand economic, social, cultural and political attributes of the communities to help analyse what factors facilitate community participation in tourism development and what factors impede such participation, which this research attempts to achieve.

Chapter 5

Community Participation in Tourism in a Marine National Park: A case study of Koh Samet

5.1 Introduction

Koh Samet is one of the most popular marine national parks in Thailand; its beautiful natural marine resources and its close proximity to Bangkok have attracted approximately 300,000 tourists per year. Due to substantial tourism receipts, Koh Samet has also attracted outside people to migrate to work in the tourism industry and non-residents investors to invest in exclusive hotels and resorts. A case study of Koh Samet was selected purposefully in this research in order to explore how community participation could occur when there are a number of tourism stakeholders and what could be the role of social capital in facilitating community participation in tourism development in this community.

5.2 Koh Samet: Background

Koh Samet (Samet Island) is a small island located 6.5 kilometres off the eastern coast of Rayong province and is located 180 kilometres from Bangkok. It is the eighth most popular of the 148 national parks in Thailand (National Parks, Wildlife and Plant Conservation Department [DNP], 2009). As a national park, Koh Samet is an area under the responsibility of the Kao Iang Ya-Koh Samet National Park (LSNP) (see section 5.3.2) which is a government agency under the Department of National Parks, Wildlife and Plant Conservation (DNP). However, although Koh Samet is announced as the national park area there are a number of tour operators and accommodation service providers running their businesses all over the area; among these entrepreneurs, six exclusive resorts owned by one external businessman appear to be a powerful tourism stakeholder on this Island. It is important to acknowledge this issue as it provides a specific social and political context of this case study community, however, to investigate this issue is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Koh Samet covers an area of 9.6 square kilometres; it is about 6.5 kilometres long, 2.5 kilometres at its widest part and about 100 metres wide at the narrowest part. To get to the island takes about 30 minutes by boat from Ban Phe shore on the mainland (Figure

5.1). Koh Samet became a popular tourism destination because of its beautiful natural marine resources and its convenient location, only three to four hours travel time from Bangkok. The close proximity to Bangkok also extends the opportunities for less wealthy domestic tourists to have low cost vacations on Koh Samet (personal communication with a local entrepreneur, September 8, 2008).

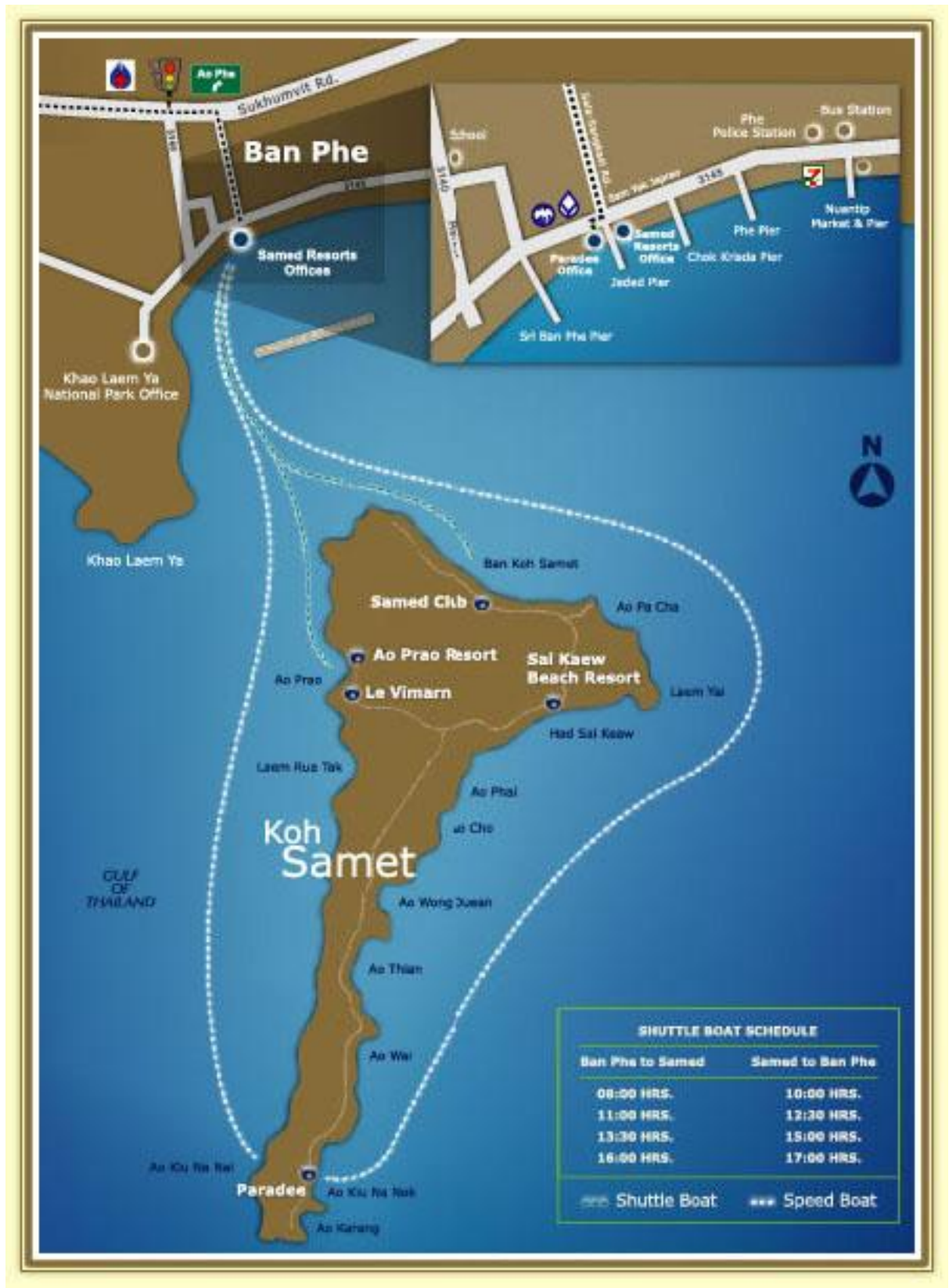


Figure 5.1 Koh Samet map

Source: from <http://www.beachsiam.com/kohsamet-paradee-th.html>

5.2.1 People, society and culture

People started to migrate to Koh Samet from Trad province in 1897. The first group comprised seven families who came to grow coconuts and fish for their livelihood (DNP, 2007b). In 2008, the official population of Koh Samet was 1,146 living in 239 households (Phe Thambon Administrative Authority [PTAA], 2008b). However, for many years there has been a substantial non-registered population⁴ working in tourism businesses on the island so the community's residents comprise both native-born residents and migrants. The non-registered population will be called migrant residents in this thesis because they migrated from other places to live in the island; people who are born on Koh Samet will be called native residents. These two categories combined will be called local residents or local people. During the study period, the proportion of migrants to native residents was estimated at about 60:40 ratio (interviews with residents, September 8, 2008 and September 10, 2008). Based on this ratio, the actual number of residents in Koh Samet might be about 2,865. This estimation is relatively consistent with information in the draft strategic plan for participatory garbage management of Koh Samet, which stated the number of non-registered people in Koh Samet at about 2,000 (DNP, 2007b). Migrant residents work in the tourism industry as taxi drivers, cleaners, waiters, labourers and shopkeepers. Some of them are illegal migrants from Myanmar (interviews with residents, September 8, 2008 and September 10, 2008).

The basic infrastructure on Koh Samet includes a public primary school, a police station and a public health centre. The main road runs about six kilometres down the length of the island. The road in the community area is concreted (approximately two km from Ao Noi Na to the national park fee gate) but the road outside the community area is dirt. A Buddhist temple is the centre of the community, where people gather together when public activities occur both for religious and other purposes. Koh Samet is a Buddhist community and this allows local people to join the religious ceremonies many times a year. A local traditional celebration occurs annually that pays respect to the holy things in the community and there are also national traditional celebrations that occur twice a year. For education, the native residents generally send their children to study on the mainland from their early years for the better quality of

⁴ Non-registered population means the population who had their names registered in other areas but who have moved to work on Koh Samet.

education, as they can afford the expenses. The students of the school on the island mostly are migrant residents' children.

One important problem occurring in Koh Samet relates to land ownership. Conflict over land ownership has been an issue affecting native residents for more than twenty years. Native residents claim that they have lived here before Koh Samet was designated a National Park area in 1981. Late in 2000, it was announced that all the land of Koh Samet is owned by the Treasury Department (TD)⁵ and people who utilise land have had to pay rental fees to the TD since 2001. During the study period (September, 2008), 22 land users (all are native residents) refused to pay rental fees and continued to claim land ownership rights by sending a petition to the National Human Rights Commission of Thailand and the Office of Ombudsman of Thailand (Thai Public Broadcasting Service, 2008).

Despite, or perhaps due to, the introduction of land rental fees, tourism at Koh Samet has continued expanding rapidly since 2000. Many of the land renters have been forced to divide and sell⁶ some of their land to migrants who came to do business at Koh Samet or external investors, and increase the density of accommodation units on the remaining land to gain more income while ignoring the resultant crowded atmosphere. Some land renters sold most of their land and retained only a small living area and survived by being a freelance worker. This situation had offered a great opportunity for external investors to invest and reap benefits from tourism businesses on Koh Samet. Finally, there was a powerful business group owning and operating six exclusive resorts on this island. The emergence of this business group had affected local residents' rights and ability to access public area at Ao Kiew (interview with native resident, September 11, 2008).

5.2.2 Tourism resources, services and activities

The major tourism resource of Koh Samet is the beautiful beaches. Most beaches are situated on the east side of the island and many resorts and bungalows are situated along the beaches from the north to the south. On the west side there is only one beach, located at Phrao Bay. A public pier, called Na Dan, is located at Sai Kaew beach, which is called the gateway to Koh Samet. This pier is the property of the

⁵ TD is a government authority responsible for renting government lands

⁶ This selling is by an oral contract only; no legal title deed document exists

Rayong Provincial Administrative Organisation. As it is the main pier on Koh Samet, and the centre of the land and water transportation services, Sai Kaew beach is the busiest place on the island as most tourists have to pass this gateway to visit Koh Samet.

Sai Kaew beach is the most well-known beach on this island because of its location, role as a transportation hub, and its reputation as a white long beach (780 metres). Consequently, Sai Kaew and an adjacent beach named Ao Phai are the highest tourism density areas on the island. A survey by DNP in 2005 revealed that there are 13 accommodation facilities which can serve almost 1,200 persons per night and 16 restaurants with almost 1,500 seats available on Sai Kaew beach. At Ao Phai, there are nine accommodation facilities which have a capacity of about 1,000 persons per night and 11 restaurants which can cater for almost 1,300 persons (DNP, 2005).

There are almost no empty spaces left for any new development in Sai Kaew and Ao Phai beaches; thus, tourism development has begun expanding to Wong Duan beach. Due to its natural advantages and less crowded nature, it has become popular very quickly with tourists. It is a very flat crescent shaped beach about 500 metres in length with no strong winds or waves. Official statistics reveal that in 2005, there were six accommodation facilities with a capacity of almost 500 persons per night and 15 restaurants with a total of 934 seats (DNP, 2005). Recently, transportation boat services have included Wong Duan beach as another stop due to the high demand from tourists.

Not every part of Koh Samet has a crowded atmosphere; some bays still have a peaceful and more natural atmosphere, for example Ao Phusa, Ao Tubtim, Ao Sang Thian, Ao Wai and Ao Pakarang. This increases alternatives for a particular type of tourist who enjoys a peaceful stay in a natural environment. Tourism businesses on these beaches are not growing as fast as the popular beaches because of the geographical disadvantages that make them less accessible. These beaches are quite small and there are not many shops or bungalows.

Another attraction for tourists is the Ban Phe and Samet Island Festival, which is held in December of every year. This event is arranged by Ban Phe municipal office in cooperation with Rayong Provincial Office, and the office central region 4 of TAT (see below). This festival began in 2001 with the purpose of promoting tourism at Ban

Phe and Koh Samet. Many activities are arranged for tourists to participate in during this festival, such as a painting competition, a seafood fair, Koh Samet boat sightseeing and concerts by famous singers.

Koh Samet offers many choices of accommodation from budget bungalows to exclusive resorts. At present, tourism businesses on Koh Samet are operated by individual entrepreneurs, ranging from food stall owners, small restaurant owners and grocery store owners, and a powerful non-resident businessman who owns and operates six exclusive resorts on Koh Samet. Accommodation is provided also by the Kao Lam Ya-Koh Samet National Park (bungalow and youth camp) with room rates ranging from 900 to 3,600 baht per night. Table 5.1 provides information about the total number of accommodation and restaurants on Koh Samet.

Table 5.1 Accommodation and Restaurants on Koh Samet

Area	Accommodation						Restaurants	
	Number (place)			Capacity (Persons)			Number	Capacity
	DNP	Private	Total	DNP	Private	Total	(place)	(Persons)
1. Ao Luk Yon	1	3	4	6	172	178	15	416
2. Sai Kaew beach	0	13	13		1,181	1,181	16	1,496
3. Ao Phai	0	9	9		1,056	1,056	11	1,288
4. Ao Phutsa and Ao Tubtim	0	3	3		208	208	3	310
5. Wong Duan beach	0	6	6		477	477	15	934
6. Ao Cho	0	2	2		214	214	4	214
7. Ao Thian	0	1	1		15	15	1	146
8. Ao Lung Dam, Ao Wai Ao Kiew and Ao pakarang	1	5	6	6	252	258	2	370
9. Ao Phrao	1	3	4	48	270	318	3	420
Total	3	45	48	60	3,845	3,905	70	5,594

Source: Adapted from the Department of National Parks Wildlife and Plant Conservation (2005)

There are many activities available for tourists on Koh Samet. Tourists may choose a one day boat trip for fishing, snorkelling or sightseeing, with coral reef snorkelling a particular popular activity. The most popular areas for snorkelling are Ao Wai, Ao Kiew, Ao Thian, and Ao Phai because the coral reefs lie close to the shore there. Some tourists prefer sun bathing, some read, some just relax and lie in beach chairs while other tourists are interested in massages and hair braiding. For the more active tourists, there are swimming and other water sports, beach volley ball, or walking and jogging along the white sand beach. When the sun sets, tourists have many restaurants and bars to choose from. Due to the high competition, a number of restaurants arrange

shows some nights of the week, for example, a fire blowing show, in order to attract more customers.

Another activity for nature lovers is trekking the Bor Tong natural trail - the only trail on Koh Samet. It is provided and maintained by LSNP (see below). It is 2.5 kilometres long and heads uphill to Bor Tong Mountain - the second highest mountain on the island. On this trail tourists can view native plants and birds. One of the endangered species still found in Koh Samet is the oriental pied hornbill. However, the route seems to lack maintenance; it is quite forested with no proper direction signs provided. Thus, most tourists do not recognise this trail. One resort manager said few tourists ask about this trail, but if their guests are interested in it, they will send staff to accompany the guests because the trail is cluttered with encroaching tree rim and roots and it is easy to get lost (personal communication with a resort manager, September 11, 2008).

5.2.3 Tourism history and statistics

Before entering the tourism industry, Koh Samet residents were farming coconuts, yams and beans, fishing and selling their products to people on the mainland. The shift to tourism occurred because of the gradual increase of visitors to their island. In 1975 a group of capitalists and businessmen from the mainland asked to rent the whole island from the Rayong Governor in order to develop it as a tourist destination because of the beautiful natural resources. They planned to build a gondola between Kao Lam Ya shore on the mainland and Koh Samet (DNP, 2009). However, this proposed project was the source of protest by many college and university students (non-residents) from numerous institutions who believed this project would badly damage the environment. This situation seemed to be a catalyst for the initiation of tourism businesses among the Samet natives as they recognised that their island had a high potential for tourism development. Tourism in Koh Samet formally commenced in 1979 when Samet natives started providing accommodation to visitors.

In the early stages of tourism on Koh Samet, there was a very warm and friendly atmosphere because residents all knew each other and they were willing to welcome and take care of their guests. Most native residents continued their simple way of life farming coconuts, yams and beans and fishing. In those days, there were no particular boat services for tourists; tourists had to travel in native residents' boats, paying for

petrol. The only pier was at Na Dan in the central part of the community, and tourists travelled from there to each beach by a local pickup truck along a dirt road.

Approximately four or five small accommodation facilities (2-3 rooms each) were made available by native residents and offered basic accommodation in the form of bamboo huts with only mats and pillows provided. Fresh water for baths came from the well on the island. Electricity was generated by a generator from 6 pm to 11 pm but not provided all over the island; some places had only lanterns and candle light. The price of accommodation was about 50 baht per room per night (personal communication with local entrepreneur, September 4, 2008). Almost thirty years have passed since then, and nowadays there is a wide variety of different types of accommodation facilities, ranging in price from 100 baht to over 50,000 baht per room per night.

The number of tourists visiting from 1995-2008 ranged between 260,000 and 540,000 per year; there are no earlier numbers available (Table 5.3). It has been argued by the official of the DNP that tourist numbers in Koh Samet have been at maximum carrying capacity for many years; the carrying capacity of Koh Samet is estimated at 200,000 tourists per year by DNP (Thai Public Broadcasting Service, 2008). Figure 5.2 presents the visitor numbers from 1995-2008 and the major events happening during this period that may have affected tourist numbers. The outstanding numbers between 2005 and 2006 might be the result of the tsunami in December, 2004 (personal communication with a local entrepreneur – a native resident, September 14, 2008) because Koh Samet, located in the Gulf of Thailand, was not affected by the tsunami therefore its tourist facilities were not badly damaged. In 2007 a severe problem with garbage as a consequence of the considerable tourism expansion during 2005-2006 received widespread publicity, with the DNP declaring “Koh Samet needs to be closed due to overwhelming garbage” (“Koh Samet needs”, 2008); this may have been the cause of the sudden drop in visitor numbers in 2007.

Table 5.2 Tourist Statistics of Kao Lam Ya- Koh Samet from 1995 to 2008.

Year ⁷	Tourists	%change
1995	283,414	N/A
1996	277,124	-2.22%
1997	289,962	4.63%
1998	284,844	-1.77%
1999	282,136	-0.95%
2000	257,878	-8.60%
2001	310,340	20.34%
2002	283,704	-8.58%
2003	265,248	-6.51%
2004	352,368	32.84%
2005	540,817	53.48%
2006	540,108	-0.13%
2007	369,089	-31.66%
2008	278,115	-24.65%

Source: http://www.dnp.go.th/NPRD/develop/Stat_Tourist.php (DNP, 2009b)

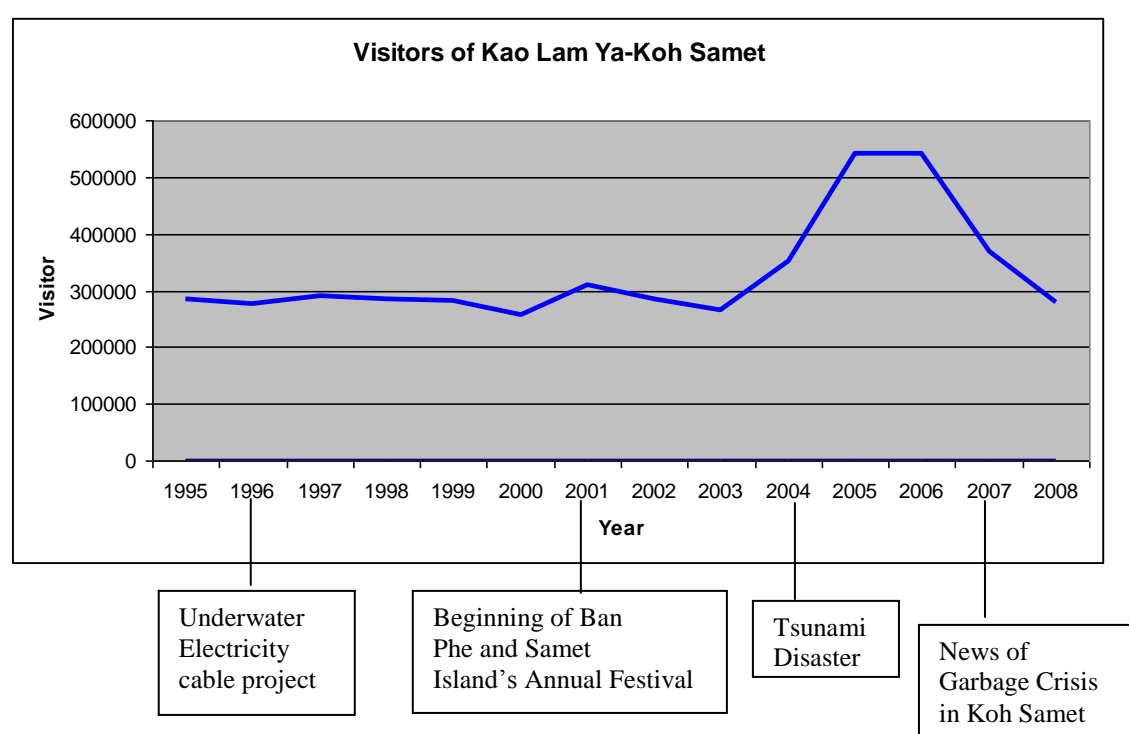


Figure 5.2 Historically significant events affecting Koh Samet, from 1995 to 2008

Because no tourism revenue statistics of Koh Samet have been recorded, tourism revenue has been estimated based on the DNP survey in 2005. This survey revealed that an average Thai tourist spent 3,900 baht per tourist per trip whereas the survey of international tourists revealed that 40.4 percent spent more than 5,000 baht⁸ (DNP, 2005). From the survey, by using an average spending of 3,900 baht by Thai tourists,

⁷ Year is a fiscal year that runs from October to September

⁸ 5,000 Baht the biggest tourist spending scale of this survey, so there is no way of knowing how much more than this they spent. This makes it difficult to calculate international tourist spending.

the total number of tourists in 2005, and the proportion of Thai tourists, at 87 percent (DNP, 2005), the tourism revenue from Thai tourists was able to be calculated. It can then be estimated that tourism revenue from Thai tourists to Koh Samet was 1.835 billion baht⁹ in 2005. Due to the survey not indicating the average spending of international tourists, the tourism revenue from the international tourists, which is about 13 percent of total tourists in 2005, was not able to be calculated.

Due to the fact that Koh Samet lies in the area of the Kao Lam Ya-Koh Samet National Park, an entrance fee is collected in order to maintain and develop tourism facilities. The fee for a Thai adult is 40 baht per person and 20 baht for a child. The international rate for an adult is 200 baht per person and 100 baht for a child (DNP, 2007a). The total fee revenue of the year 2008 was about 22 million baht. However, only 15 percent of this was made available for LSNP to use as maintenance expenditure, while five percent went to the PTAA (local government), and the remaining 80 percent was sent to the DNP (central government) (DNP, 2008).

5.3 Organisations involved with tourism planning and management on Koh Samet

5.3.1 The Phe Thambon Administrative Authority (PTAA)

The PTAA administrative area covers four villages in Thambon Phe including Ban Koh Samet (Koh Samet village) which is on the island while the other three villages are on the main-land. Although Ban Koh Samet is the biggest village in Thambon Phe the PTAA office is located on the mainland. This may be due to the fact that Koh Samet is a national park which is generally not considered a residential area. The 2008 budget for operating Thambon Phe was approximately 13 million baht. The long-term goals of the PTAA are (PTAA, 2008a):

- To develop tourism destination to meet an international standard
- People can access all public services easily
- To be in a non-polluted environment
- People have sufficient income to cover living costs
- People have a good quality of life
- To develop a good governance administrative system

⁹ This amount was calculated from $540,817 \times 0.87 \times 3,900$

In the past, the PTAA's involvement with tourism has mainly focused on organising traditional events and annual ceremonies to promote tourism. Because of the limitations of budget, tourism facility improvement projects rarely occur, for example, one small project may occur every two to three years (interview with PTAA vice president, September 15, 2008). The PTAA plan prepared in 2008 is mainly focused on social and infrastructure development; tourism development and support are given little emphasis (PTAA, 2008a). The PTAA has a small part to play in garbage management on Koh Samet by providing garbage bags for residents but it does not provide a garbage collection service (see below). During the field work period, the PTAA two yearly performance report showed only one small project of developing tourism facilities and a few annual traditional ceremonies (PTAA, 2006).

A few years ago, the PTAA began organising an activity called the 'big cleaning day' which occurs approximately once a month, to motivate local residents to participate in maintaining their area. Observations during fieldwork suggest that 300 – 400 people participate in these cleaning days (September 9, 2008). In addition, a free lunch is provided on these days, sponsored by restaurants on the island on a voluntary basis. As a consequence, the general public area is beginning to be kept cleaner and neater. It can be anticipated that in the long term, this activity may help in raising community cohesion as well as raising awareness of the importance of maintaining a clean destination.

5.3.2 The village committee

By law, the village committee must be composed of at least six sub-committees to take care their missions including directing, governance, village development planning, economic development, social, environmental management and public health, educational, religious and cultural promotion. The village committee may have more sub-committees for responsible for other important tasks if necessary. At Koh Samet, there is no sub-committee managing or controlling tourism. Task of the village committee has mainly focused on public infrastructure improvement and maintenance of social security in the village. (Interview with the village headman, September 4, 2008).

5.3.3 Kao Lam Ya- Koh Samet National Park (LSNP)

Kao Lam Ya- Koh Samet National Park (LSNP) was established in 1981. As stated above, when the gondola from the mainland was proposed in 1975, Koh Samet became recognised as having a high potential to be a tourism destination. In response to this, the association of Fine Art and Environmental Conservation, who were very concerned about environmental impacts from tourism, proposed Koh Samet to be a national marine park and their request was accepted by the National Park Committee and the National Environment Committee (DNP, 2009a). The LSNP is a government authority, under DNP, which itself operates within The Ministry of Natural Resource and Environment. The LSNP is responsible for the national park protection and conservation, carrying out plant and wildlife studies and research, providing basic facilities and safety for visitors as well as providing knowledge to the visitors (DNP, 2006).

The LSNP mission includes land and marine resource conservation, organising tourist facilities and studying plant and wildlife in the area. As their primary mission, they have to protect national park areas against illegal activities, such as tree cutting, animal poaching, and fishing for commercial purposes. Every year, they arrange three to four projects to build awareness of environmental conservation for the youth and interested people in the area.

Their second mission seems to be more explicitly relevant to tourists and tourism. LSNP is responsible for developing basic facilities for tourists such as roads, public toilets and the visitor centre as well as controlling garbage and waste water in the area (a superintendent of LSNP, interviews, September 16, 2008). At the time of fieldwork, the five-year LSNP plan (2003-2007) prepared in 2002 covered their mission which included the protection of their conserved area from public encroachment, conservation of national resources, organizing tourist facilities, and studying plant and wildlife in the area (LSNP, 2002).

Tourist facilities are of particular relevance in an area of high tourism activity. At the time of fieldwork road conditions on Koh Samet seemed to be substandard especially the dirt sections, which were very bumpy and muddy during the rainy season. LSNP is currently working with the Department of Rural Roads and the Rayong governor to improve the road conditions on Koh Samet (a superintendent of LSNP, interviews,

September 16, 2008). There is a visitor centre located close to the main gate to the LSNP area but no tourists visited during a one-hour observation period (August 21, 2008). The researcher observed that the information for tourists was not complete or up to date. Eight toilets are located behind the visitor centre with a small sign difficult to notice. Without a clear toilet sign, tourists must pay for using private toilets due to the limitation of fresh water. This seems to suggest poor management of LSNP in providing and publicising existing tourist facilities.

In terms of garbage management, LSNP provides garbage bins and gives permission for landfill use to the community. In 2001, LSNP announced a ban on the use of foam containers on Koh Samet, aiming to reduce garbage. However, this policy seems to have little effect practically; during the period of fieldwork, foam containers were commonly used all over the island. This reflects a low level of cooperation with LSNP's policy and may also reflect a weakness in rule enforcement on Koh Samet. In relation to waste water control, LSNP requires all accommodation facilities and restaurants in Koh Samet to install waste water treatment systems and sent officers to monitor occasionally. As a result, many of these businesses have these systems, but some still do not comply (a superintendent of LSNP, interviews, September 16, 2008).

As part of its mandate to study plant and wildlife, LSNP has been studying the carrying capacity of Kao Lam Ya-Koh Samet National Park involving annual monitoring since 2005. The study project covered four dimensions of carrying capacity: ecological, physical, facility, and psychological. The results reveal that some places in Koh Samet are approaching psychological and facility carrying capacities and other areas have exceeded ecological and physical carrying capacities (DNP, 2005).

5.3.4 Samet Conservation Community Network Organisation (SCCNO)

As a consequence of tourism expansion, garbage management turned out to be a hot issue on Koh Samet because it directly negatively affected both community hygiene and the image of Koh Samet (see section 5.2.3). Therefore, a community organisation was established in 1996 called the 'Samet Development Club', the main purpose of which was to set up a garbage management system on the island. This club was established by native residents and grew to be a larger group but all of those involved remain native residents. Subsequently, the name was changed to 'Samet Conservation

Community Network Organisation' (SCCNO) in 2003 (DNP, 2007b). The SCCNO operating budget comes from a garbage fee collected from tour operators and local residents, a total of 110,000 baht per month of which 90 percent is an operation cost and 10 percent goes to Koh Samet Environmental Management Fund (Thai Public Broadcasting Service, 2008).

SCCNO has put a great effort into asking the LSNP to arrange a workshop to discuss and develop a garbage management plan for Koh Samet. Previously, garbage was managed by LSNP and PTAA, but the rapid growth of tourism caused a huge amount of garbage with which the existing system could not cope. Finally in 2007 a workshop was arranged, sponsored by LSNP, to develop a strategic plan of participatory garbage management of Koh Samet. From that workshop, the draft strategic plan of participatory garbage management of Koh Samet was developed and covered problems and suggested solutions for garbage management which was drawn from and integrated the brainstorming of the three groups of stakeholders including the community organisation (SCCNO), a government department (LSNP), and local government (PTAA) (DNP, 2007b). To implement this plan, there is a requirement of a trilateral committee to act as an authorised body for the implementation. At the time of fieldwork (September 2008), this plan had not proceeded because it was still waiting for the Rayong governor to sign an official document to appoint the trilateral committee.

Local residents participate in the garbage management process at the household level by separating garbage into three categories: food scraps, recyclable and non-recyclable garbage. The island is divided into nine zones which have a garbage representative to encourage and monitor garbage sorting in their zone. There are two garbage collecting vehicles that collect garbage every day operating on bio-gasoline, produced from used cooking oil from restaurants on the island. There is a project called a garbage bank project; the recyclable garbage (including glass, tin cans and plastics), is sold to the bank. Many local organisations such as the school, the health centre and the temple have a big part on garbage separating process because of the monetary incentives. After these processes, less than one tonne of garbage is left, which is buried in a landfill on the island (Thai Public Broadcasting Service, 2008). Although the SCCNO operates garbage management on the island they face much more difficulty in receiving the garbage fee from the migrant-owned tourism

businesses and migrant residents (Interview with the SCCNO president, September, 2008).

As well as managing garbage, SCCNO carry out other conservation activities, for example, a coral reef rehabilitation project to upgrade the marine environment of Koh Samet. This project is part of a larger project named “VinyThai Raum Jai Plook 80,000 Pakarang for His Majesty” supported by the VinyThai public company, the top PVC manufacturer in Thailand (“VinyThai Raum Jai”, 2008). They create artificial PVC reefs for coral nurseries in suitable surroundings and then coral would be moved back into the sea. SCCNO is involved both in coral regeneration and protecting the new coral reefs from damage from the use of fishing nets or by being stepped on by snorkelers. Another SCCNO activity is the island’s Hornbill Conservation Society led by a Samet native, a guesthouse owner in Ao Noi Na. An anti-poaching education campaign was launched by putting up signs and distributing stickers around the island in order to stop the killing of hornbills (Tangwisutijit, 2008).

5.3.5 Koh Samet Transportation Club

The “Koh Samet Transportation Club” is the only organisation managing land transportation services on Koh Samet. They limit the number of pickup vehicles to 60 for tourist services and set a standard price for this service. This club is owned by a migrant businessman and most of the service vehicles are owned by the businessman while a few are owned by native residents who join the club.

5.3.6 Marine Resources and Coastal Koh Samet Conservation Group (MRCSG)

A network recently established (2007) is the Marine Resources and Coastal Koh Samet Conservation Group (MRCSG) formed by cooperation between the LSNP, the Department of Marine and Coastal Resources (DMCR), and the private sector (most of whom are migrant residents). The main purpose of this organisation is to conserve marine resources around Koh Samet. It began when one resort operator started raising baby sea turtles to prevent them from dying naturally. When government agencies recognised this, they discussed the establishment of the MRCSG. The first activity was sea turtle conservation because this island is a natural egg-laying area for sea turtles, particularly, at the peaceful beaches which mostly are the locations of resort operators. One of the MRCSG’s first activities was launching a campaign to prevent

the eating of turtle eggs and the disturbance of the nesting area at the south of Koh Samet called ‘Ao Pakarang’. Resort operators can also participate by observing when sea turtles come and lay eggs in the area and contacting DMCR, who come and take eggs for the nursery. In 2008, this resort took care of almost 200 baby sea turtles to release them into the ocean when they grew big enough.

5.3.7 The Designated Areas for Sustainable Tourism Administration (DASTA)

DASTA is an organization established by the government which aims to enable sustainable tourism development in Thailand. The DASTA tourism development plan for Koh Samet was developed under the concept of “less volume, more value” in order to stem the environmental degradation in the tourism destination. Theoretically, this plan may be a good concept but at the implementation level, it is geared towards increasing the yield from tourism by upgrading tourism facilities for a high end market in order to make tourists stay longer and spend more money. As a consequence, many luxurious tourist facilities such as five star resorts, a marine airport and four-lane roads were included in the DASTA plan but there was no mention about the existing small tourism entrepreneurs (see Section 5.4.2.1).

5.4 Demographic data of Koh Samet surveyed sample

Table 5.3 describes the demographic data of respondents from the survey in Koh Samet. The respondents of this survey are local residents, either natives or migrants who lived in this community at the time of fieldwork. The number of the sample at Koh Samet is 70¹⁰ (See Chapter 3).

¹⁰ Sample size for the 10% precision level where the confidence level is 95% and the degree of variability (P) = 0.5

Table 5.3 Demographic data of Koh Samet sample

Demographic data	Answer	Samet (%)
Born in Village (Native residents)	Yes	25.7
	No	74.3
Length of residence for migrant residents	(years)	13.14
Gender	Male	38.6
	Female	61.4
Number of household members	(persons)	3.94
Age	(Years)	21-73
Age range	≤ 20	0
	21-30	17
	31-40	34
	41-50	33
	51-60	13
	≥ 60	3
Occupation	Small business owners	68.6
	Employee	15.7
	Agriculture & Fishery	2.9
	Part time hires	2.9
	Others	10.0
Average Household Income	(Baht/year)	355,875
Minimum Household Income	(Baht/year)	96,000
Maximum Household Income	(Baht/year)	1,200,000

As is apparent from Table 5.3, only one quarter of respondents in this survey were born in the village. However, average length of residence for migrant residents is 13.14 years which suggests these migrants are not short term residents. Most of the people surveyed were engaged with the tourism industry with the main occupation being small business owner (68.6%). The survey results are consistent with the interview of a village headman, who reported that more than 80 percent of the residents on Koh Samet are involved with tourism businesses either directly or indirectly (interview with a village headman, September 4, 2008). Those directly involved in tourism provide services directly to tourists, for example, through accommodation facilities and convenience and souvenir shops. People who are not directly involved or not involved in these tourism businesses are fishermen, grocery and food sellers to residents, fresh water suppliers to hotels and resorts and freelance workers. Generally, the residents on Koh Samet have their own small businesses such as bungalows, guesthouses, restaurants, boat services and motorcycle rental businesses (DNP, 2007b). The residents at Koh Samet seemed to have high income;

the survey result reports a substantial high level of household income of the respondents with an average of 355,875 baht per year (1.4 times higher than the 2009 national average household income (NSO, 2011)).

This research considered whether there might be different opinions about participation in tourism development and its impacts between the native and migrant respondents in this community; thus, crosstabulation analysis was conducted; the Chi-Square testing results are presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Differences between native and migrant respondents' opinion on tourism development and its impacts

Opinions about participation in tourism development and its impacts	Differences between native and migrant respondents
Participating in communal activities	Not different
Individual participation in tourism development	Not different
Tourism disturbs local way of life	Different
Tourism improves basic infrastructure	Different
Tourism assists cultural conservation	Not different
Tourism improves the well-being of household	Different
There is a fair and equitable benefit distribution	Not different
Tourism leads to environmental degradation;	Not different
The overall satisfaction on tourism development.	Not different

Note: See detail in Appendix D

The results reveal that most of these issues were not different between native and migrant respondents except three issues including 'tourism disturbs local way of life', 'tourism improves basic infrastructure' and 'tourism improves the household well-being'. The different opinion on 'tourism disturbs local way of life' might be relating to the native residents mostly living in Ao Noi Na, the less dense tourism area. The different opinion on 'tourism improves basic infrastructure' may be due to the native residents are used to living on the island with a low level of basic infrastructure before tourism has emerged whereas the migrant residents who mostly migrated from the mainland and had never seen Koh Samet in the past may not recognise the difference

that tourism has made improving island. The last different issue of ‘tourism improves the household well-being’ may be due to most native residents are business owners and gaining higher income than the migrant residents who are mostly employees in tourism businesses.

In addition, this research also analysed whether there are different opinions about the above issues between male and female respondents. The results are presented in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Differences between male and female respondents’ opinion on tourism development and its impacts in Koh Samet

Opinions about participation in tourism development and its impacts	Differences between male and female respondents
Individual participation in tourism development	Not different
Tourism disturbs local way of life	Not different
Tourism improves basic infrastructure	Not different
Tourism assists cultural conservation	Different
Tourism improves the well-being of household	Not different
There is a fair and equitable benefit distribution	Not different
Tourism leads to environmental degradation;	Not different
The overall satisfaction on tourism development.	Not different

Note: See detail in Appendix E.1

Similarly, most of the results reported that there was no different opinion about participation in tourism development and tourism impacts between male and female respondents in Koh Samet. Only ‘tourism assists cultural conservation’ was found different. Most of the female respondents disagreed with this statement while most of male respondents were neutral to this statement. This may be due to generally male are less interested in this issue than female.

The next section discusses negative impacts from tourism at Koh Samet. It is important to investigate tourism impacts occurring in the community because these impacts are largely an outcome of tourism planning and operation. This section

focuses only negative tourism impacts because the positive impacts are considered as benefits from tourism; they are discussed in Section 5.6.3.

5.5 Negative Tourism Impacts

At Koh Samet where tourism has grown enormously for two decades, negative tourism impacts appear to be apparent in social and cultural, and environmental aspects.

Table 5.6 presents the survey results of the respondents' attitude towards tourism development in Koh Samet. These survey results are illustrated and expanded upon by the qualitative findings from interviews and observations, and discussed under three sub headings economic, social and environmental tourism impacts. The scoring system is designed to transform percentage data to a score which is easier to use for comparison purposes (discussed in Chapter 7). The score ranges from 0 to 1. For the question that has five possible responses; 'disagree strongly', 'disagree somewhat', 'neither agree nor disagree', 'agree somewhat' and 'agree strongly', the scores applied to the five answers are 0, 0.25, 0.5, 0.75, and 1.0, respectively. Therefore, the score of this item can be calculated by multiplying the score for each categorical answer with its percentage of frequency to obtain the score. This research determines thresholds for interpretation of the scores; the score from 0 to .040 is 'Low', the score from 0.41 to 0.65 is 'Moderate' and the score from 0.66 to 1.0 is 'High'. These thresholds are applied throughout this thesis. For example, the score of 'outside control' in Table 5.6 equals 0.81 $[(0.0*0)+(0.0*0.25)+(0.129*0.5)+(0.514*0.75)+(0.357*1)]$ and it can be interpreted as a 'High' score.

From Table 5.6, two survey questions report the respondents' attitude towards tourism impact in their community. Outstandingly, 99 percent of the respondents answered 'yes' to the question of 'Are there any problems associated with tourism development in this community?' and approximately 70 percent of respondents stated that they did not want an increase in the number of tourists. These responses suggest that the negative impacts of tourism in Koh Samet are recognised by the respondents and the response to this is a wish to restrict the development of tourism. This issue is summarised by examining the respondents' overall level of satisfaction with tourism development in their community, with less than 25 percent of respondents agreeing that they were satisfied. Although tourism at Koh Samet has produced many impacts

to the community, 99 percent of respondents still agreed that tourism generates more economic benefits than costs for their community. These responses suggest that local residents all make a lot of money from tourism more than if tourism was not there, but they did not want to see further growth because of their concern for the negative impacts from tourism even it will bring more money to them. The following sections look specifically at the identified economic, social and cultural, and environmental tourism impacts

Table 5.6 Respondents' attitude towards tourism development at Koh Samet

Respondents' attitude	Percentage (%)					Score from a full score of 1.0
1. The number of tourists should....*	Increase	Decrease			Stay the same	
	31.4	5.7			62.9	
2. There are problems associated with tourism development*	Yes		No			
	98.6		1.4			
	Disagree strongly (0)	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	Agree somewhat (0.75)	Agree strongly (1.0)	
3. Outside operators have too much control over tourism in this community.	0.0	0.0	12.9	51.4	35.7	0.81
4. Tourism activities in this community have disturbed our local way of life.	4.3	32.9	42.9	18.6	1.4	0.45
5. The presence of tourists is having a negative effect on young people's behaviour.	4.3	12.9	37.1	41.4	4.3	0.57
6. Tourism leads to environmental degradation in this area.	4.3	12.9	54.3	24.3	4.3	0.53
7. I enjoy interacting with tourists.	0.0	0.0	17.1	41.4	41.4	0.81

Respondents' attitude	Disagree strongly (0)	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	Agree somewhat (0.75)	Agree strongly (1.0)	Score from a full score of 1.0
8. Tourism improves the well-being of my household.	0.0	1.4	8.6	41.4	48.6	0.84
9. There is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism in this community.	1.4	4.3	40.0	48.6	5.7	0.63
10. I am proud that tourists want to come to my community.	0.0	0.0	0.0	41.4	58.6	0.90
11. Tourism generates more economic benefits than costs for my community.	0.0	0.0	1.4	41.4	57.1	0.89
12. Tourism has improved the basic infrastructure in my community.	2.9	11.4	55.7	27.1	2.9	0.54
13. Tourism assists cultural conservation in this community.	14.3	50.0	32.9	2.9	0.0	0.31
14. Overall, I am satisfied with tourism development in this community.	2.9	12.9	60.0	22.9	1.4	0.52

Note * these two questions have different type of answers and no need for score calculation

5.5.1 Social and cultural impacts

There are some social and cultural impacts occurring as a consequence of tourism expansion, which in general has occurred with inadequate planning. Two questions from the survey – ‘tourism activities have disturbed our local way of life’ and ‘the presence of tourists is having a negative effect on young people’s behaviour’ show that 20 and 45 percent of the respondents agreed with these statements, respectively. This reflects some extent of social impacts from tourism at this community.

In addition, tourism expansion also brought another social impact to Koh Samet community which was apparent through participant observation and interviews; it is the increasing density of population and buildings. One native resident, who owns a food stall located about 800 metres from Sai Kaew beach, said in informal conversation¹¹ that

Eight years ago, Koh Samet did not seem as crowded as today and we could view the sea apparently through Sai Kaew beach, even from in front of the temple; today the sea cannot be viewed from this point anymore because too many shops have occupied the walkway to the beach.

The large number of tourism operation has caused a crowded atmosphere at popular beaches with tourism facilities and businesses jostling for position, which has resulted in encroachment on the public beach entrance. From fieldwork observation, the entrance to Wong Duan beach was approximately one-metre-wide while the entrance to Sai Kaew beach was two-metres-wide (see Figure 5.3). This problem may be partially due to an inadequate knowledge and understanding about tourism development concepts by the local residents. An example is that some local entrepreneurs do not realise the need for reorganising public walkways on the beaches in Koh Samet. In an interview, a native entrepreneur said that

It [public needing access to the beach] is not a problem because tourists can walk along the sand beach or walk through the pathway that connected shop to shop so there was no need for reorganising beach area to provide a public walkway for tourists.

Moreover, the local residents have also lost their right to access public beaches at Ao Kiew since the area on both road sides has been developed as an exclusive five star hotel and the sign “hotel guests only” has been posted (personal communication with villagers and observation, September 5, 2008).

¹¹ A direct quote is based on notes written immediately after the conversation.



Figure 5.3 Public beach entrance to Sai Kaew (top) and Wong Duan (bottom) beaches

Source: Rojana Thammajinda, September 14, 2008

The crowded atmosphere on Koh Samet is exacerbated by the considerable number of motorcycles. Although there is some control over the number of pickup vehicles, the control of motorcycles is more difficult because investing in a motorcycle rental

business does not require a lot of money and motorcycles can be transferred easily from the mainland. Therefore, the number of motorcycles on the island is almost a thousand and there is currently no system of control; however an attempt by a range of stakeholders to cope with this problem by determining an appropriate number of motorcycles for the island was underway at the time of fieldwork (interview with LSNP's officer, September 12, 2008).

Lastly, many pubs and bars are available for tourists, including go-go bars. These pubs and bars may challenge cultural values in Koh Samet community. During an interview with a native resident who owns an accommodation business, he said:

As I am a Samet native, I do not want pubs or bars on Koh Samet. Right now, there even has a go-go bar which absolutely ruins the peaceful atmosphere of Koh Samet. I want Koh Samet to be preserved as a natural marine destination where people whether rich or poor could come to visit and enjoy the relaxed atmosphere (interview of a local entrepreneur, September 8, 2008).

The problem of tourists being taken advantage of is also found at Koh Samet, particularly in relation to transportation fare charging. Although standard prices are determined, the implementation is not straightforward. From personal fieldwork experience, it was observed that some drivers have taken advantage of tourists by telling a lie that there were no more boats coming that day so the tourists must pay the per trip rate, which is much more expensive than the per head rate (the per head rate will be charged if only the pick-up truck is full of passengers). This reflects some level of dishonesty amongst some groups of drivers and also a lack of a system or organisation to protect tourists' rights.

In addition, the system to control the drivers' behaviour seems to be absent. From fieldwork observation, sometimes the drivers drive too fast along the bumpy road and ignore the tourist's rental motorcycles, which may easily cause accidents. Although the Koh Samet Transportation Club exists, it did not play a role in management and control of transportation services at Koh Samet.

5.5.2 Environmental impacts

Regarding the environmental perspective, Koh Samet has faced many problems. The survey result from Table 5.4 shows that almost 30 percent of the respondents answered either 'agree strongly' or 'agree somewhat' to the question 'tourism leads to environmental degradation'. This also means that about 70 percent of respondents did

not agree with this statement; it may be due to respondents at Koh Samet perceiving that tourism generates many more benefits than costs to them so they may overlook negative tourism impacts as long as they enjoy receiving benefits from tourism. However, some evidence of negative environmental impacts was observed at Koh Samet. The major environmental problem seems to be garbage and waste water management. Everyday approximately six tonnes of garbage are produced on the island which is a very huge amount for a 9.6 square kilometre island (Interview the SCCNO president, September, 2008). The garbage comes from tourists, accommodation facilities and restaurants, residents of the island, and also from the sea, in the form of fishing nets and buoy scraps. Generally, it can be seen that garbage has spread over some areas such as the forested area which does not have a high tourism density. From personal observations, there are two waste water areas which smell badly (see Figure 5.4); one beside a restaurant in Sai Kaew Beach and another beside bungalows in Ao Phai.



Figure 5.4 Waste water draining at Sai Kaew beach

Source: Rojana Thammajinda, September 12, 2008

Another threat that may affect the environment is the encroachment of tourist accommodation. During fieldwork observation, one resort was constructed over the sea and another was settled on a cliff very close to the sea. It is anticipated that waste water from these accommodation facilities may easily contaminate the sea if lack of proper systems. This may affect both the physical and visual degradation of the environment. During the study period, there was a construction site at Sai Kaew Beach which was digging sand out very deep because this place was designed as an

underground entertainment complex (informal conversations with local residents). This type of construction may have a considerable impact on Koh Samet's environment because the removal of the sand may affect the natural current flow system. As the tourism industry has expanded, accompanied by a growing migratory workforce, there have developed very dense living areas. The crowded living conditions have also resulted in water scarcity. During the high tourist season (the non-rainy season) water has to be transferred by boats from the mainland (the village headman, interviews, September 4, 2008).

The preceding sections of this chapter have introduced the case study community and its tourism development and management as well as tourism impacts at the community. The following section presents findings regarding community participation in tourism planning and decision making, community participation in tourism operation and management, and community participation in benefits from tourism.

5.6 Community participation in tourism development at Koh Samet

This section discusses the findings of this research regarding community participation in tourism development. The analysis is separated into three sections: community participation in tourism planning and decision making, community participation in tourism operation and management, and community participation in benefits from tourism. It is important to make clear the differentiation between community participation in tourism operation and management, and community participation in benefits from tourism. The section of community participation in tourism operation relates to how local residents are involved directly in tourism operation and management which means they take actions in relation to tourism. The section on community participation in benefits focuses on two issues: the benefits of tourism to the group of local residents who are not involved in tourism and the collective benefits derived from tourism by the whole community.

5.6.1 Community participation in planning and decision making process

Table 5.7 presents the survey results about community participation in tourism planning and decision making at Koh Samet. Outstandingly, the survey revealed that 84 percent of respondents reported that they were not involved in tourism planning. In

addition, more than half of the respondents disagreed with the statement 'I can participate in tourism development in this community if I want to' (56% disagreed) and 'I feel local people have an influence in decision making about tourism development in this community' (53% disagreed). These findings indicate a relatively low level of community participation in tourism planning and decision making on Koh Samet.

Table 5.7 Community participation in tourism planning, management and benefits

Community participation items	Answer (scoring system)	Percentage (%)
1. Directly involved in tourism	Yes	75.7
	No	24.3
2. Skill development through the involvement in tourism	A lot	58.5
	Some	41.5
	Not at all	0.0
3. A household member involved in tourism	Yes	54.0
	No	46.0
4. Are you involved in tourism planning?	Yes	15.7
	No	84.3
5. I can participate in tourism development in this community if I want to.	Disagree strongly (0)	1.4
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	54.3
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	34.3
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	1.4
	Agree strongly (1)	8.6
	Score	0.40
6. I feel local people have an influence in decision making about tourism development in this community.	Disagree strongly (0)	15.7
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	37.1
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	37.1
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	10.0
	Agree strongly (1)	0.0
	Score	0.35
7. Tourism in my community doesn't benefit me.	Disagree strongly (0)	20.0
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	61.4
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	11.4
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	7.1
	Agree strongly (1)	0.0
	Score	0.26

This research considers an equitable distribution of tourism benefits as one of the significant outcomes deriving from meaningful community participation (Wang & Wall, 2005). Arguably, the lack of community participation in tourism development usually results in inequitable benefit distribution among tourism stakeholders (Pongponrat & Pongquan, 2008). As reported above (Table 5.6) answer to the question about the distribution of benefits from tourism, only half of respondents at Koh Samet (54 %) agreed that there is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism. Demographic data also report a wide spread of household income of

respondents between a minimum (96,000 baht/year) and a maximum (1,200,000 baht/year) which reflects to some extent this inequitable income distribution. These findings reinforce that the respondents at Koh Samet have a low level of community participation in tourism planning and decision making.

These quantitative findings are supported by information gathered from interviews, which suggest that there is a lack of an effective channel for people to participate in, or share opinions about, tourism development. One obvious example of this is the mobilisation of local people against a top-down tourism development plan proposed by Designated Areas for Sustainable Tourism Administration (DASTA) in 2005 which emphasised luxury tourism development projects. Before implementation, a public forum was arranged to deliver information about DASTA's plan to all stakeholders and listen to their feedback. A local entrepreneur (personal communication, September 14, 2008) revealed that:

After attending the meeting, we [the villagers] did not agree with the DASTA's project. I personally asked 'Where are we in this plan?' and 'How can the low-income tourists travel to Koh Samet?' I was in complete disagreement with this project because I thought Koh Samet is a beautiful island where everybody whether rich or poor can visit.

Although local residents had the opportunity to ask questions, they received no satisfactory answers in their opinion. The DASTA plan was not re-considered or adjusted in line with locals' opinions, thus the plan has not been accepted by the local residents (ASTV online manager, 2007). They objected to the plan because they disagreed with that type of tourism development and also the plan does not mention the current local tourism enterprises. However, the locals did not remain silent; they presented a petition of opposition to the DASTA plan to the deputy governor of Rayong Province in 2007 (ASTV online manager, 2007). Finally, the DASTA plan could not move on and there was still no reconsideration of this plan proposed at the time of fieldwork. It can be seen that in this situation, local voices influenced the direction and execution of a tourism development project but in a defensive and aggressive way because of a lack of genuine public participation in tourism planning.

Another example of this lack of community participation is the news released by the DNP that Koh Samet needed to be closed for three months due to a garbage and waste water crisis. The community was first made aware of this in a national newspaper (ASTV online manager, 2007). The news referred to a research project about carrying

capacity and problems from tourism in Koh Samet conducted by the DNP (DNP, 2005). This news impacted directly and strongly on local residents who depended on the tourism industry. However, this solution could not be implemented practically because it did not address how local residents could survive during the closed period. This event demonstrates a top down approach to tourism management by the DNP. The DNP made a decision to solve the garbage problem on this island based on their external views alone and with no consultation with local residents. In the end, this plan was not implemented. This example reaffirms that without community participation, it is difficult for a top down plan to be implemented successfully. In this case, residents at this community have shown that they were aware of this severe problem and they also have a willingness to participate to solve this problem with the DNP. A local entrepreneur revealed during an interview (September 10, 2008)

I am a Samet native. I recognised how beautiful Koh Samet was thirty years ago. I always want to see Koh Samet becomes clean and beautiful as it used to be. I know that garbage is the big problem and I am willing to help to find a better solution for Koh Samet but we have no opportunity.

The DNP did not offer an opportunity for the community residents to talk or discuss environmental management in Koh Samet. In contrast, the DNP released the news which provided a negative image of Koh Samet to the public. This situation upset the residents because not only was a negative image created but the DNP did not mention or support existing local efforts in solving garbage and waste pollution on Koh Samet. Moreover, the existing one-way management practice may extend the gap between the government sector and local residents and make it much more difficult to achieve effective community participation.

When considering the local level of tourism planning at Koh Samet, two agencies (LSNP and PTAA) developed their own plans independently, and without public participation. In the observation period, there was no integrated plan to develop tourism in Koh Samet and local residents had no opportunity to participate directly in the development planning process. The vice president of the PTAA revealed during an interview (September 15, 2008):

Every year, PTAA holds an annual meeting for local people to listen about the PTAA's revenue and expenditure. People who have any question may ask in that meeting.

The PTAA meeting seems to be a forum for local people to talk, however, the issue is limited to budget management rather than other community development issues including tourism development.

In addition, there is a lack of coordination between the different organisations involved in tourism planning on Koh Samet. Although the draft strategic plan for participatory garbage management seems to be a good start for the community's residents to influence tourism development in their community there is still lack of strong support from the government authorities. Consequently, this plan appears to be frozen and still waiting for an approval of a trilateral committee to implement the plan (see Section 5.3.3).

5.6.2 Community participation in tourism operation and management

The survey result from Table 5.7 shows that about 76 percent of the respondents on Koh Samet are directly involved in tourism; moreover, half of the respondents have household members who are also involved in tourism. This figure is supported by an interview with the village headman who commented that more than 80 percent of Koh Samet residents were directly involved in tourism. Koh Samet residents are involved in tourism in many ways including operating accommodation, bars and restaurants, convenience and souvenir shops, internet cafés, boat and speed boat services, snorkelling and fishing tours, water sport services, kayaking, motor bike rentals, taxi services, massages, food stalls, and tattooing.

Table 5.8 presents detailed data of the involvement in tourism separated by type of the residents (native and migrant). It can be seen that 15 of the 18 respondents (83%) who were native residents were involved in tourism, while 38 of 52 respondents who were migrant residents (73%) were involved in tourism. This seems to be a surprising result as it could be expected that migrant residents would be more involved in tourism than natives. However, the Chi-Square test reveals that there is no difference of these two groups in being involved in tourism. This finding indicates that native residents at Koh Samet did not have less opportunity than the migrant residents to participate in tourism operation.

Table 5.8 Koh Samet respondents involving in tourism separated by resident's type

	Directly involved in tourism		Total
	Yes	No	
Native respondents	15	3	18
Migrant respondents	38	14	52
Total	53	17	70

Although most of the residents on Koh Samet are directly involved in tourism and have a higher average per capita income than the national average per capita income, policies to strengthen and support these local entrepreneurs seem to be absent. An example is the practice of the non-resident hawkers that arrive every day from the mainland, who compete directly with local entrepreneurs by walking along the beaches to sell food and souvenirs. From informal conversation, a resident owning a souvenir shop said that “Since there were hawkers from the mainland, my sales had suddenly dropped more than 50 percent.” These people all wear the same vests with different numbers on them. From informal conversations with them, it was found that they have to pay 300 baht per day for the vest and only people who wear the vest can trade on the island, however they were unwilling to reveal to whom they paid this money. This circumstance did not benefit either the community's residents or the tourists as the prices of the hawkers are almost double those in the shops. In this circumstance, there might be some person or person(s) gaining substantial benefit while the local residents and the tourists lose out, and local entrepreneurs seem to lack the power to negotiate with the powerful persons to protect their business.

Moving to the environmental perspective of tourism operation and management, local people at Koh Samet have participated actively in garbage management operated by the SCCNO. The establishment and management of the SCCNO seems to be a good starting point for local people coming together to address their problems, in this case, primarily focused on the degradation of natural resources of Koh Samet. This reflects some collective management activities initiated by local residents who are involved with tourism. However, forming this community organisation was not a simple process. The president of SCCNO stated that:

For me, the people participation concept is '*Mai puk tong*'. [This means 'do not set the flag', which can be interpreted as do not predetermine solutions for local people.] From my experience, community leader teams need to act as facilitators and let local people participate at the thinking stage and work together to find out the possible ways to cope with these problems.

Furthermore, she added that:

The most important strategy to make people believe and be interested in participating in collective activities is to start doing it first, in order to show a visible outcome; for example, cleaning a public area which made the area looks distinguishable before and after.

In addition, one factor appears to have a strong effect on motivation for local residents to participate in collective activities is individual tangible benefit. The president of SCCNO gave an example:

A financial benefit for individuals has quite strong impact to motivate local people to participate, for example, the garbage bank project in Koh Samet. The recycled garbage is sold to the bank which included glass, tin cans, and plastic. Many local groups are highly involved including a school, a public health centre and a temple, which are centres for buying recycled garbage from people, giving them money as an incentive for participation this process.

The limit of community participation in tourism operation and management may be partially related to the community's conflict over land ownership (see Section 5.2.1). Some of the native residents who refuse to pay rent for their land are not be able to renovate or reconstruct their tourist accommodation due to a prohibition by the LSNP. Because of the uncertainty of the land ownership, the non-renting group have been legally charged as trespassers by the LSNP. This has certainly limited local residents' decision-making ability and action in tourism development in their enterprises. This circumstance has automatically divided residents into two groups; once there are opposing sides in one community, it may result in the reduction of social capital in this community.

One of the key informants, a bungalow owner who has lived in Koh Samet for more than thirty years and is in the group of non-renters, commented that:

Basically, Samet people want to see the tourism area in Koh Samet better planned and managed, including turning the beach area back to its natural condition, which was free from garbage, food stalls, restaurants and bars. But today, we can do nothing because the LSNP does not allow the non-renting group to do any construction or renovation otherwise our places may be totally demolished. This is opposite to the renting group [most of whom are migrants]who were allowed to do the construction or renovation.

There seems to be an impediment to community participation in tourism operation which in this case is ineffective law enforcement. One native resident revealed in an interview that:

Sometimes I feel exhausted to follow the good environmental practices initiated by the community organisation while the others do not care. For example, the waste water treatment activity which at the beginning everyone is eager to do but, there are still some entrepreneurs who smuggled drained waste water illegally into a public canal that then contaminated the sea.

This situation discouraged some local residents from participating in the community agreement to enhance sustainable tourism in the area because they thought it was useless and unfair to continue engaging in sustainable environmental practices while some irresponsible people could get an exception from the law and continue spoiling the environment.

5.6.3 Community participation in tourism benefits

Koh Samet's respondents appear to have a high level of income from tourism which often enables a better quality of life; the survey result in Table 5.6 shows 90 percent of the respondents agreed that 'tourism improves the well-being of my household'. As the previous section has indicated, Koh Samet is a popular destination and its tourism businesses have grown rapidly for more than twenty years. This has undoubtedly brought benefits to local residents, particularly economic benefits. The average income per capita of Koh Samet population has increased considerably as the residents have transformed themselves to being tourism service providers. From the household level database of basic needs developed by the Rural Development Information Centre, an average per capita income of population in Koh Samet in 2008 was 516,667 baht per person per year (Rural Development Information Centre, 2008). This amount was calculated based only on the registered population, so the number is too high because in fact there are many migrant residents, who have moved to work permanently in Koh Samet, but they are not counted as Koh Samet's registered population. After modification, a more realistic average per capital income of Koh Samet population should be 206,667 baht¹² per person per year. This modified average per capita income is about 2.2 times higher than the national average per

¹² From interviews, the non-local / local ratio was 60 to 40 percent thus the average per capita income should be recalculated by multiplying 516,666.71 with 1,146 (local population) and divided by 2,865 (1,146 local and 1,719 non-local). As per capita income is derived from a total village income divided by a number of registered people.

capita income of Thailand (93,903 baht per person per year (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, 2009). The modified average per capita income seemed to be consistent with data from the sample which revealed an average household income of 355,875 baht per year (generally, two adults are of working age in each household which resulted an estimated average household income to be about 413,334 baht¹³).

Although tourism brings more income to local residents at Koh Samet, the cost of living has also increased considerably (Takengsung, 2003). Informal conversations with local residents reveal that they are satisfied with their income from tourism and related businesses, even though they have to face high rises in living costs. For example, they have to pay for additional water supply during the high season but they do not mind because with their income from tourism they can afford that, while still allowing them to buy extra items such as electric equipment, mobile phones, or new motorcycles. One migrant resident said during the informal conversation that:

Most of the people who used to work in Koh Samet do not work somewhere else for very long and usually come back to work at Koh Samet again because of the income at Koh Samet is much higher than an income from working at other places.

Besides an individual economic benefit from an involvement in tourism businesses, the whole Koh Samet community appears to gain a few other benefits from tourism development. The survey results from Table 5.8 show that only 30 percent of the respondents agreed that tourism has improved the basic infrastructure in their community. In addition, 64 percent of the respondents did not agree that tourism assists cultural conservation in this community. This may be due to the type of tourism development at Koh Samet which is island tourism, and largely ‘mass tourism’, rather than community-based tourism.

However, the survey reveals some intangible benefits from tourism at Koh Samet; they include local residents improving their skills, local residents enjoying the interaction with tourists and local residents being proud of Koh Samet being a popular destination. The survey results reveal that almost 60 percent of respondents felt that they gained a lot of skills development from their involvement in tourism (Table 5.9), while approximately 80 percent of respondents enjoyed interacting with tourists and

¹³ $206,667 \times 2 = 413,334$ baht per year

all respondents felt proud that tourists want to come to their community (Table 5.8). These findings demonstrate that the community's residents have received benefits from tourism beyond economic benefits.

There was other evidence of the benefits of tourism observed during the fieldwork period. The first is the establishment of Koh Samet Environmental Management Fund by the SCCNO. Funds came from a monthly garbage fee paid by tour operators after deduction its operating costs. This fund was used for public benefits such as supporting a school lunch programme. There is also to some extent a level of intention from the private sector to create a collective benefit for the community, in terms of repainting of the school building and money donation to MRCSG for environment conservation; both are derived from a powerful non-resident businessman who invested intensively in Koh Samet. The last example of a development which provides benefit for the whole community is a public modern pier built by the Rayong Provincial Administrative Organisation in response to the growing number of tourists to Koh Samet.

This case study of Koh Samet has demonstrated a low level of community participation in tourism planning and decision making. However, community participation in tourism operation and management seemed to be observed more widely here; both native and migrant residents are highly involved in tourism. However, lack of opportunities for the community's residents to participate in tourism decision making seems to have greatly affected tourism development at this community. The development of tourism appears to have little direction and cooperation from local residents is not readily apparent. This research set out to investigate why the community's residents here have a low level of participation in tourism planning and decision making and employed social capital as a theoretical framework to study this issue. The next section discusses the level of social capital in the community which has been measured through the household questionnaire survey and supported by observations.

5.7 The role of social capital in community participation in tourism development

As stated above, Koh Samet is a case study community which has a high proportion of migrant residents living amongst native residents. It is suggested that a great

number of migrants to Koh Samet may cause a dilution of social capital in this community. This proposition was investigated both through the survey and qualitative research methods. Table 5.9 and 5.10 present the results from the survey reporting structural and cognitive social capital in Koh Samet, respectively. Generally, each social capital item has a score of between 0 and 1. For example, item 1 of Table 5.9 “The rules and regulations which are set by the village committee are adhered to very well” has five possible responses; ‘disagree strongly’, ‘disagree somewhat’, ‘neither agree nor disagree’, ‘agree somewhat’ and ‘agree strongly’. The scores applied to the five answers are 0, 0.25, 0.5, 0.75, and 1.0, respectively. Therefore, the score of this item can be calculated by multiplying the score for each categorical answer with its percentage of frequency to obtain the social capital score, which equals 0.32

$$[(0.186*0)+(0.443*0.25)+(0.286*0.5)+(0.086*0.75)+(0.000*1)]$$

. Overall, the scores of structural and cognitive social capital and community participation in tourism development items at Koh Samet appear to be relatively low.

Table 5.9 Structural social capital items of Koh Samet

Social Capital Items	Answer (Scoring system)	Percentage (%)
1. The rules and regulations which are set by the village committee are adhered to very well	Disagree strongly (0)	18.6
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	44.3
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	28.6
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	8.6
	Agree strongly (1)	0.0
	Score	0.32
2. Labour exchange in agricultural tasks or one's house building happens often in this village	Disagree strongly (0)	47.1
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	37.1
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	10.0
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	4.3
	Agree strongly (1)	1.4
	Score	0.19
3. Average number of group memberships	(groups)	0.90
4. Level of group interaction with outsiders	No (0)	25.5
	Occasionally (0.5)	70.9
	Frequently (1)	3.6
	Score	0.39
5. Number of close friends	(persons)	6.89
6. Friend visits	(Times per year)	40.84
7. Number of relatives	(persons)	17.96
8. Relative visits	(Times per year)	58.18
9. Outside village visits	(Times per year)	2.81
10. Socialise with neighbours	(Times per year)	11.41
11. Temple visits	(Times per year)	7.20
12. Social event attending	(%)	62.79
13. Respondent's participating in communal activities	Yes	90.0
	No	10.0
14. Average number of participation in communal activities	(Times per year)	6.18
15. Average meeting attendance	(%)	50.71

Structural social capital represents social networks and norms in the community. In this regard, there are low scores amongst respondents regarding obeying village rules and regulations (item 1), labour exchange in the village (item 2), an average number of group memberships (item 3), a number of relatives (item 7), relative visits (item 8),

temple visits (item 11), social event attending (item 12), and an average percentage of meeting attendance (item 15). The low score on these indicators suggests that Koh Samet community has a low level of structural social capital. However, 90 percent of Koh Samet respondents indicated that they participated in communal activities at an average of participation about six times per year. The last two results show that this community has a norm of participation in communal activities at a relatively high level.

Table 5.10 Cognitive social capital items of Koh Samet

Social Capital items	Score
1. People in this village can be trusted	0.53
2. People in this village are willing to help in an emergency if you need it	0.64
3. In this village, one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you.	0.61
4. I trust government officials from the Tambon Administrative Authority.	0.45
5. I trust central government officials	0.34
6. I feel safe from crime and violence when I am alone at home	0.73
7. I feel I have an influence over decision making in this village	0.31
8. I feel I have rights to participate or share opinion about community topics/projects	0.45
9. I feel I know about what is going on in this community	0.79
10. There is difference between community's members such as differences in economic wealth, social status and ethnicity.	0.94
11. If you suddenly needed to borrow money, are there people beyond your immediate household and close relatives in this community to whom you could turn and who would be willing to provide this money?	0.60
12. Time contributed to a community project	0.81
13. Money contributed to a community project	0.52
14. Villagers' cooperation for the village problem solving	0.64

Cognitive social capital refers to people's level of trust and beliefs. Several items from Table 5.10 indicate a moderate level of cognitive social capital in Koh Samet, for instance trust among people (item 1), people's willingness to help (item 2), someone is likely to take advantage of another (item 3), trust in local government (item 4), having rights to participate (item 8), and the villagers' cooperation (item 14). Interestingly, two items report the low level: trust in central government (item 5) and influence over decision making (item 7). In addition, four items indicate high scores: 'safe from crime' (item 6), 'knowing what is going on' (item 9), 'difference between

community's members¹⁴ (item 10), and 'time contribution' (item 12). The respondents' opinion about differences in the community may be partially due to the conflict of land ownership in Koh Samet which spit native residents into two groups (see 5.6.1).

The relatively low level of social capital in Koh Samet seems to have been connected to the increasing number of migrant residents in Koh Samet resulting in less strong social connections in the community. This observation is supported by a comment from a native resort entrepreneur:

Formerly, local people were known to each other, but nowadays there are more non-local than local people and they do not know each other; they live and operate their own business individually.

As a consequence, there appears to have been lower levels of social networking in this community; the migrant and native residents have not harmonised well with each group doing business in their own way. Two networks were established separately (SCCNO and MRCSG); although they have the same goal for environment conservation, the connection between them is absent.

Moreover, there is a lack of trust between the government agencies and between native residents resulting in particular from the on-going conflict over land ownership in this community. Since 2001, native people have split into two groups; one group have agreed to rent land from the TD whereas the others have not agreed to pay rent for what they consider to be their own land. During the study period, those who refused to pay rent tended to display much more affiliation with the lands they perceived as homelands and had a high level of willingness to conserve their island. The renting group have to pay a substantial high rent, for example, 1,600,000 baht per year for 20 rai¹⁵ sized land; this caused some native people to 'sell' their land to outsiders, who want to migrate and do businesses at Koh Samet, as they attempted to recoup their rental fees. As a consequence, the sense of belonging appears to be lessened and the renting group focus changes to be more concerned with economic benefits and they were less enthusiastic about participation in collective activities. From an interview (interview, September 14, 2008), the SCCNO president commented that:

¹⁴ The full question is "Do you think this community has a significant difference between people such as differences in economic wealth, social status and ethnicity?"

¹⁵ 1 Rai = 1,600 square metre

Since TD came to manage land renting on Koh Samet, the cooperation to participate in collective activities such as joining a big cleaning day from local people who decided to pay rent was gradually lessened because they had lost the sense of belonging and felt uncertain about the rental contract renewal [it is a three-year-contract].

Regarding the norm of reciprocity, Koh Samet gained a moderate score on the villagers' cooperation. The SCCNO president revealed in an interview (September 14, 2008) that:

Cooperation of people on Koh Samet is different between local [native] and non-local [migrant] people. Local people are almost a hundred percent in cooperation, for example, cooperation in garbage separating process. For non-local people, the cooperation ranges from moderate to low level. Some entrepreneurs concerned just with their own businesses ignore community development activities; some people thought that garbage management is not their business because they already paid garbage fee to the SCCNO.

However, the survey result reveals that the proportion of respondents who participated in communal activities is similar between native and migrant respondents (approximately 90%, see Table 5.9). This suggests the high degree of cooperation of the residents in this community which seems to be different from the SCCNO president's opinion. A possible explanation for this is that there are two highly active community organisations in this community: SCCNO (established by native residents) and MRCSG (established by migrant residents); generally, the migrants participated more in MRSCG's activities resulting in low participation in activities arranged by SCCNO.

This circumstance has been found also in other popular destinations in Thailand, for example, Koh Samui (Pongponrat and Pongquan, 2008). Consequently, community participation in tourism development in Koh Samet community does not go far beyond the 'informing' level of citizen participation (see discussion in Chapter 8). Even though native people have established a community organisation (SCCNO) this organisation could not gain sufficient support from government authorities, external enterprises and even some migrant residents.

5.8 Conclusion

The Koh Samet case study community demonstrates a low level of community participation in tourism planning and decision making; the residents have little opportunity to participate in tourism development at their community and tourism

development at Koh Samet is often dominated by external organisations. However, although the residents have no meaningful participation in tourism planning their voice still has influenced development projects with which they did not agree, and the community power was strong enough to suppress that project proposal (The DASTA project). A question raised is “What is the role of social capital in this situation?” Quantitative and qualitative findings have revealed that social capital at Koh Samet is not very apparent; although norms of participation in communal activities are found at a relatively high level, low numbers of social networks and low level of trust appear to have substantially effected the overall social capital in this community.

The major cause of Koh Samet’s low level of social capital seems to come from two main sources. Firstly, because tourism development at Koh Samet has grown enormously in the last two decades it has attracted more and more outsiders to work in tourism industry. Many of these people are now residents in the community, so that migrants outnumber native residents, and it seems that the groups are not harmonised well. The second major issue affecting social capital seems to be conflict and uncertainty regarding land ownership; this problem has split the residents into two groups: the renting and non-renting groups. This has substantially affected trust among the residents and led to lower levels of social capital and community participation in tourism decision making in this community.

Chapter 6

Community Participation in Village Tourism: A case study of Mae Kam Pong

6.1 Introduction

Mae Kam Pong has recently emerged as a tourist destination and it becoming well known nationwide as a home stay village. In this community, local residents have the opportunity to participate in community-based tourism in various forms. Community-based tourism seems to be managed in a sustainable way by the community institution which emphasises environmental, social and cultural, and economic perspectives. Local residents seem to participate in and have influence on, tourism decision making. As a consequence, individual and collective benefits seem to be distributed equitably in this community; even residents who are not involved in tourism still receive benefits from tourism development. A few migrant and non-resident tourism enterprises began operating in this community; these enterprises could possibly affect tourism development in this community. This chapter discusses forms of community participation in tourism development in Mae Kan Pong and the role of social capital facilitating community participation in this community.

6.2 Mae Kam Pong: Background

The village of Ban Mae Kam Pong is located 50 kilometres from Chiang Mai city in the valley of the Pee Pan Nam mountain range on the border between Mae On district, Chiang Mai province and Jae Son district, Lam Pang province, in the north of Thailand (Figure 6.1). The topographical features of the area are classified as hilly terrain at an elevation of 700-1,800 metres above sea level and the area is dominated by evergreen forest. As it is an upland area and surrounded by high forests its climate is quite cool all year round, with an average temperature of between 16 and 28 degrees Celsius (Boonnate, 2004). The eight kilometre-long Haui Mae Kam Pong River flows through the village before it joins Mae Lai creek at Tarn Tong village. Its banks are covered with wooden houses built in local style. About 900 metres above the Mae Kam Pong village, the Haui Hak Mai Leung River flows along the cliff that

originates at the “Mae Kam Pong waterfall” and then joins Hauy Mae Kam Pong River in the village.

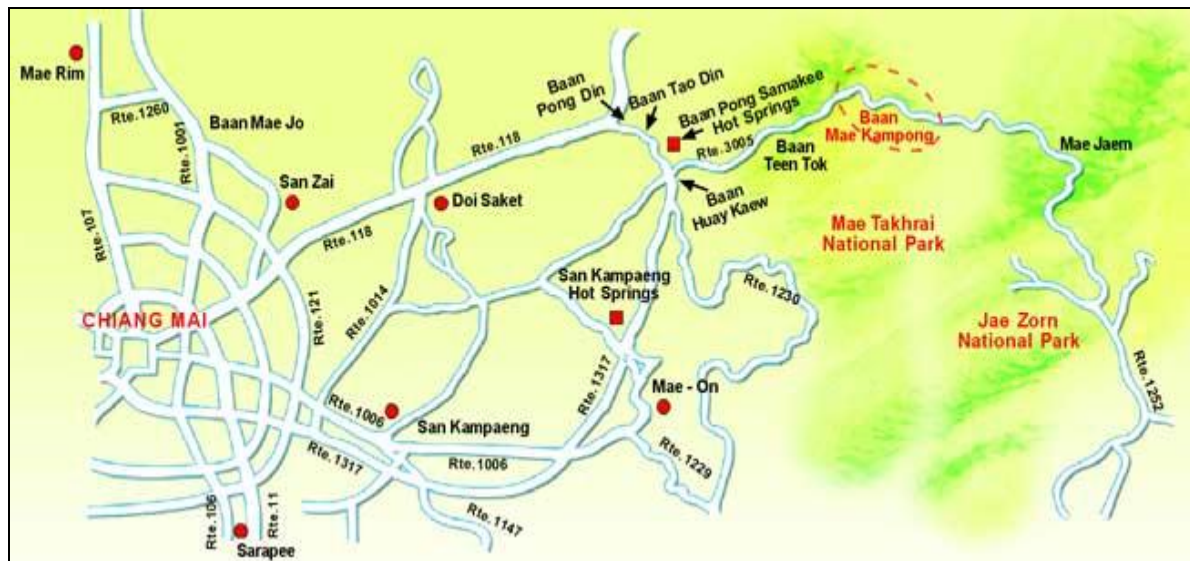


Figure 6.1 The location of Mae Kam Pong

Source: http://www.chiangmai-chiangrai.com/baan_mae_kampong-high_living.html

Ban Mae Kam Pong is one of the most well-known home stay villages in Thailand. This village received accreditation¹⁶ from the Office of Tourism Development under the Ministry of Tourism and Sports (MOTS) as a national standard Home Stay Thai village in 2004 and again in 2006, despite only commencing community-based tourism in late 2000 (ASTV online manager, 2008). Furthermore, Ban Mae Kam Pong was one of 80 villages from all over the country which was awarded OTOP Village Champion (OVC) status in 2006. The OVC is a tourism village development project arranged by the Community Development Department (CDD) under the Ministry of the Interior (Community Development Department, 2009). As a consequence, this village has been promoted as one of the recommended tourism villages in Thailand through www.homestaythai.tourism.go.th and www.thaiThambon.com¹⁷.

The village covers an area of approximately 14 square kilometres and comprises six village clusters, which are locally called “Pang” (See Figure 6.2). The village area is classified by the village committee into various land use purposes. Approximately six square kilometres are agricultural forest area, six square kilometres are a conservation forest area, one square kilometre is a residential area and the last square kilometre is

¹⁶ This accreditation is valid for two years

¹⁷ www.thaiThambon.com/OTOPVillage/OVCHIANG DAO006.html

community forest (Paungmala, 2003). This community forest serves as a source of non-timber forest products and camp sites for eco-tourists. Despite the village being relatively close to Chiang Mai, the community remains quite isolated; the road to this village was built in about 1981 and at present, the village is accessible by personal vehicles only as there is no public transport available.

FIGURE TOURISM ATTRACTIONS IN BAN MAE KAMPONG

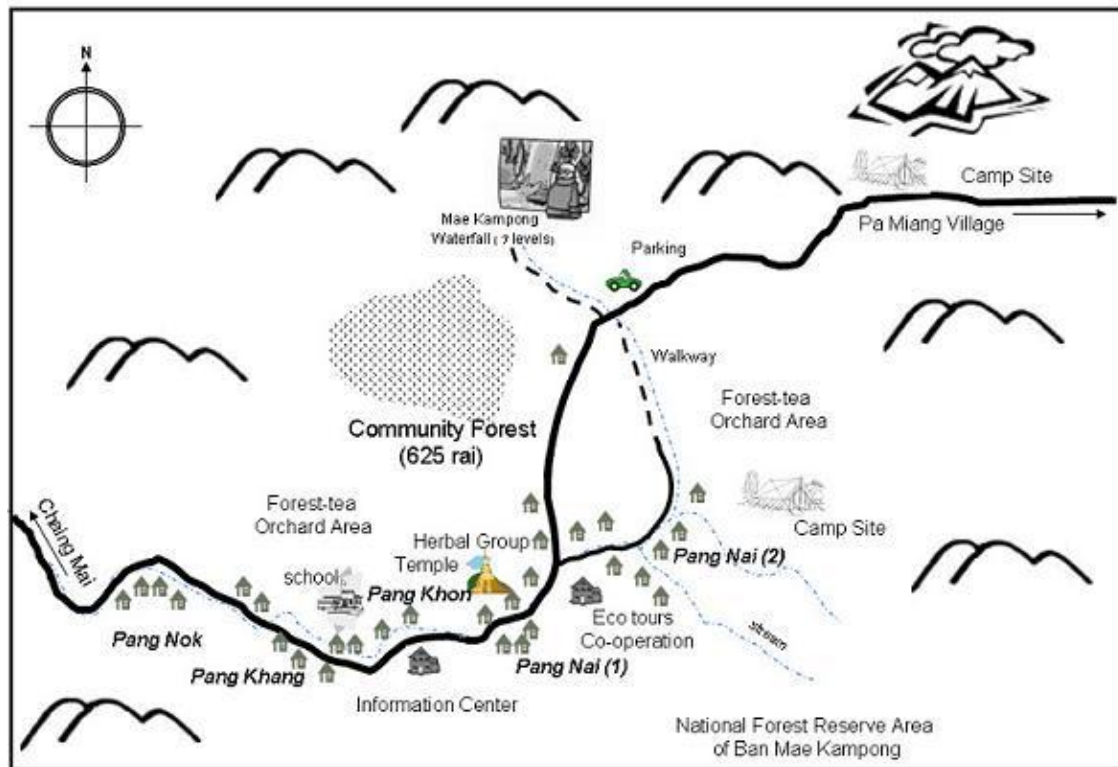


Figure 6.2 Tourism attractions map at Mae Kam Pong

Source: www.mae-kampong.com

In regard to public infrastructure, there is a mountain water supply system, ten garbage incinerators spread throughout the village and three hydro electricity plants. Most households in this village use a dual electricity system; one is a hydro electricity system provided by Mae Kam Pong Royal Project Electricity Cooperative (MKPREC; see below) and the other is the Provincial Electricity Authority (PEA)'s system. The former originated in the village with the assistance of an external organisation because of a high waterfall with strong and consistent current to operate the hydro electricity

plants. Currently, there is no primary school and children in the village study in Haui Kaew sub-district school¹⁸.

6.2.1 People, society and culture

The community was established more than a hundred years ago, with early settlers migrating from the nearby Doi Saket district in search of new land for forest-tea orchard cultivation, due to a scarcity of cultivation areas. In the past, the village was isolated and difficult to access as there was no road and the area was dense forest. The villagers had to travel on foot with cattle to sell their products and buy some necessities from Doi Saket (20 km from Mae Kam Pong). Therefore, these conditions made local villagers live in a self-reliant way. Rice, salt and some dried foods were the only basic necessities bought from outside. When the settlement grew larger both from natural increases and migration, the temple was built in 1930 in order to be the spiritual centre of the whole village. All villagers participated in the temple construction by carrying bricks and cement on cattle from Doi Saket district (information provided by an elderly villager during the field work). Buddhist monks from the lowland villages were invited to reside in the temple. At present, all the villagers are Buddhists (Paungmala, 2003) and speak the Northern Thai dialect.

As of 2008, the village had a population of 402 persons, living in 126 households (Mae Kam Pong village committee, 2008). The primary occupation of the villagers is 'tea farmer' and 80 percent of the population is still involved in forest-tea orchard cultivation (Mae Kam Pong village committee, 2008). The tea-farming system operates in the form of agro-forestry whereby tea plants are planted harmoniously within the natural forest (Boonnate, 2004). The forest can provide natural shade and produce moisture for tea plants as well as provide valuable minerals from the decomposition of leaves and twigs. Therefore, there is no need for watering and no chemicals are used for tea orchard cultivation at this village.

Most villagers are currently engaged in fermented tea production, locally called 'Miang', which is a traditional northern chewing snack made from fermented tea leaves. The villagers believe chewing 'Miang' helps eliminate sleepy feelings, prevents bad breath and strengthens teeth roots. In the fermented tea production cycle, the tea leaves can be harvested four times a year and will then be fermented for a few

¹⁸ The school shown in the map 6.2 is now closed due to the low number of students

months before being sold to both local and outside traders. Generally, villagers have the rights to use their ancestors' tea forest areas, because each family's ancestor had made an oral claim for possession that continues to apply today (Paungmala, 2003). The villagers usually use their spare time to make their own household equipment, utensils and furniture from local natural materials. Therefore, supplementary occupations of people in this community are bamboo weaving (baskets, hats and brooms), bamboo furniture making and another two recently developed products, tea leaf pillows and providing a home stay service (See Section 6.1.2).

From informal conversations with the villagers during the field work, they seem satisfied with their local way of life because tea cultivation is an independent job and it does not require capital investment. They said also that they could not imagine themselves working as an employee or salary man. However, in recent years, some villagers have changed to growing Arabica coffee within the forest tea gardens under the advice of, and with support from, the Teen Toke Royal Project under the Royal Project Foundation. This crop diversification occurred in response to a decline in demand for fermented tea products and the need to gain a compensatory income. At this village, the average per capita income was 53,637 baht per year, in 2008, which was only 60 percent of the national average per capital income of 93,903 baht (Rural Development Information Centre, 2008).

Local wisdom in natural resource use and conservation is an apparent norm in this village. Mae Kam Pong community has developed a strong culture of using and conserving forests that has resulted in rich forest and natural resources. Some examples of this norm include: picking half of the tea leaves to let the remaining photosynthesize ensuring the tea plants grow well; firewood cutting is allowed only between December and January in the zone of utilised forest area; avoiding cutting big trees (diameter larger than six inches); leaving at least 50 centimetre tree trunks when cutting to let them continue growing; and wood cutting for house building requires permission from the village committee (Boonnate, 2004). Traditional Buddhist beliefs are applied also to resource conservation at this village. The custom of tree ordination¹⁹ is adapted from Buddhist principles to prevent big tree cutting;

¹⁹ The word 'ordain' is used in the same sense when used with people which means enter the monkhood.

traditionally, local people are afraid of sin if they cut the ordained trees (Boonnate, 2004).

In terms of local governance, each ‘Pang’ or village cluster has a chief who acts as a coordinator among the cluster’s members to maintain the appearance of their area and also to act as the representatives from the cluster to discuss tourism development issues with the VTC (village tourism committee; see Section 6.3.4). Consequently, both public and household areas are very well presented, reflecting the high level of cooperation by the villagers. One good measure for maintaining the appearance of the village is the provision of garbage bamboo baskets every 50 metres in each road in the residential area and at least one garbage incinerator in each village cluster (personal observation and interview with the VTC president in November, 2008).

Several occupational groups are established within this community in order to receive support from the community organisation (MPKREC) such as free interest loan and specific trainings. They include a female youth group for cultural shows (11 members), traditional music conservation group (10 members), medicinal herbal group (eight members), local guide group (eight members), traditional massage group (20 members), wooden furniture making group (15 members), bamboo weaving group (10 members), tea pillow group (35 members) and home stay group (18 members) (Puangmala, 2003).

6.2.2 Tourism resources, services and activities

Ban Mae Kam Pong is located on hilly terrain and its natural surroundings are very rich comprising plentiful forests and many streams and creeks, so there are many natural attractions for tourists to explore. For example, in the tea forest, some of the native trees and plants are very old and large; some having a huge diameter that takes five persons to encircle it (personal observation by the researcher, November 2008). The wildlife species mostly found are bird species of both native and migrant birds (found in the winter season) (Boonnate, 2004). Another major tourism attraction is the Mae Kam Pong waterfall; tourists may trek up to this seven-level waterfall and enjoy the cool fresh water. The access trail has been developed to a good condition to reach all levels of the waterfall. Public toilets, a small pavilion and sign boards are also provided at the entrance of the waterfall connecting to the main road.

About five kilometres from the village, Doi Mon Lan Mountain is another tourism attraction at a height of 1,700 metres above sea level. At the top, tourists can see the scenery of three provinces (Chiang Mai, Lam Pang and Lam Phun). Along the trekking trail, several endemic plant species can be found, for example, ‘Nang Paya Seur Krong’ or Thai Sakura (*Prunus cerasoides*), which is similar to Japanese Sakura (*Prunus jamasakura*) (Boonnate, 2004). The most well-known plant, called the queen flower of Ban Mae Kam Pong, is ‘Dok Aueng Din’, a terrestrial wild orchid rarely found in other areas. It is now bred for sale to tourists (Paungmala, 2003). There is also a community herbal garden covering an area of 200 rai that grows native herbal plants, such as cinnamon, mainly for use within the village, which is another interesting place for tourists to visit.

As a fermented tea-producing community, during the harvest season every morning, tourists can see the villagers carrying bamboo baskets and walking uphill to the tea forests to pick tea leaves and bring them back in the evening to steam them before starting the fermentation process. All these processes follow traditional procedures and use traditional devices as their ancestors did. No modern industrial equipment is applied to the production of fermented tea in this community. Traditional equipment is still handmade locally; for example, a household tea steaming stove and barrel in which only firewood is used as fuel.



Figure 6.3 Tourism resources at Mae Kam Pong

Source: Rojana Thammajinda, December 2008

The temple, named ‘Wat Khantha Phrueksa’, is another interesting place to experience ancient Lanna²⁰ art and culture. A teakwood Buddha image hall²¹ is decorated with craft wood in the Lanna style, with mirrors and religious wall-paintings inside. On a small island in the middle of the creek, Huay Mae Kam Pong, there is more Lanna architecture, a Buddhist church²²— a holy Buddhist hall used for religious ceremonies (Taechaarawan, 2001). Its location, surrounded by water, is extraordinary for Thai people as there are only two water-surrounded Buddhist churches in northern Thailand.

²⁰ Lanna is the ancient culture of Northern Thai people

²¹ in Thai called ‘Vi Harn’

²² in Thai called ‘Uoo Boh Sodd’

Not only is there a high potential in both natural and cultural tourism resources, but also the villagers' characteristics of being humble, generous and friendly helps create a hospitality atmosphere in this community. Overall, Mae Kam Pong has many tourist attractions that appeal to tourists to visit all year round; for example, the tea harvest season from May to November, the coffee harvest season from November to January, the Thai Sakura blossom period from 15-30 December and the 'Dok Aueng Din' blossom period from March to April.

The president of the VTC seemed to have a clear picture of community-based tourism at Ban Mae Kam Pong when he described that:

Tourists visit our village in order to learn and experience local culture and way of life as well as to appreciate natural environment. When ecotourism in this village began successful in some level and brought significant income into the community, this surprised the villagers that why many people from other places are interested to visit and observe the villagers' way of living and local surrounding which for us, these things are so ordinary. Later when the villagers had opportunity to share experience with tourists, finally they discovered the answer themselves that tourists are interested in local way of life, livelihood, traditions and ceremonies as well as the well balance adjustment of local people living peacefully with natural resources surrounding them. All these are unique and very different from the place where tourists from. Sometimes, 'simple' is what the urban people seek.

The major tourism services in this village are village home stays. Currently, there are 18 home stay households which can serve up to 100 guests (interview with the VTC president, November, 2008). Sixteen are located in Pang Nai, one is in Pang Tone and another is in Pang Korn. There is a standard price of home stay which is 550 baht per person per night including three meals (Table 6.1). Besides the home-stays, tourists who prefer more comfortable and private accommodation may choose another form of accommodation available in this village.

At the time of field work, there were four private enterprises operated in the community: three are based on accommodation facilities. One is locally owned accommodation comprising a restaurant and three detached houses operated by the VTC president's family that has an accommodation fee of 600 baht per room per night (for up to two persons) (information provided by the VTC president, November 2008). There are also two resorts owned by outside investors. One resort is owned by a foreign man and a Thai lady now resident in the community, and offers seven natural style bungalows (for up to four persons each) with a tariff of 1,500 baht per bungalow per night, as well as a restaurant. The other resort owned by a non-resident

Thai investor provides accommodation for up to 60 persons (eight bed rooms), charging 350 baht per person per night. These investors have bought land usage rights from the villagers and developed accommodation for tourists concurrently with the period the villagers began providing home stay services. There is only one souvenir shop (owned by the VTC's family) located next to the VTC's restaurant at the centre of the village.

Currently, there are three types of village visit programmes offered at Ban Mae Kam Pong (Paungmala, 2003). The first is a one day tour programme. This programme is quite open, where tourists may visit the village without bookings and are free to choose self-travel or travelling with a local guide, for which service fees will be charged. Generally, there is no charge for independent one day visitors, although a donation box is placed at the waterfall area in order to receive money for maintenance of the area. The second type of tour is a group field trip programme. These groups may comprise students, public and private organisations or other communities interested in visiting the community. The purposes of visiting for these groups are mostly to observe the community-based tourism operation system, community forest resource management, and occupational development in the community as well as to experience the traditional local ways of life and local traditions. The third tour type is the home stay programme, where guests, comprising both domestic and international tourists, make contact through tour agencies or directly to the president of the VTC.

There are two standard home stay packages which are a two day-one night programme and a three day-two nights programme, however, tourists may choose to stay longer if they prefer. Table 6.1 presents the standard price of services related to community-based tourism.

Table 6.1 Community-based tourism pricing at Mae Kam Pong

Activities/Products	Price
1. Two days-one night with three meals (include village site seeing costing 100 baht and 100 baht for village fund contribution)	550 (baht per person)
2. Three days-two nights with six meals (includes village sightseeing costing 100 baht and 100 baht for village fund contribution)	900 (baht per person)
3. Additional stay; one day-one night with three meals	350 (baht per person)
4. Local guide	200 baht per one guide per day
5. Buy Sri Su Kwan (a traditional ceremony) Small (not exceeding 10 people) Large (more than 10 people)	600 baht per group 1,000 -1,500 baht per group
6. Traditional dance (3-4 shows)	1,000 baht
7. Traditional music (1 hour)	1,000 baht
8. Massage fee	Body massage 100 baht per hour Foot massage 120 baht per hour

Source: Paungmala, 2003 and interview with the VTC president, 2008

The home stay programme provides tourists with the opportunity to enjoy the traditional local way of life and villagers' hospitality by staying with the villagers in local houses and learning about their traditional cultural values. The home-stay programme begins with a village visit with a local guide, who will take tourists to observe local activities, for example, travelling to the tea forest, observing the fermented tea production process or herbal production process, watching bamboo weaving and bamboo furniture building, visiting the temple to explore the Lanna architecture and ancient wall paintings, and experiencing Buddhist traditions by offering food to monks in the early morning. In the evening, after experiencing the local cuisine served in traditional style, tourists may enjoy traditional music and dances. In addition, tourists may make a special request to join in the local traditional ceremony, called Karn Hong Kwan, whereby the elderly people give a blessing to the younger people in order to raise their morale and bless them with a good life by binding their wrists with a holy white cotton yarn. This traditional ceremony is now being adapted for tourists to bless them. An additional service is Thai body and foot massages. All masseuses are the villagers who have been trained and have a certificate from the Department of Skill Development, Ministry of Labour (Paungmala, 2003).

The fourth private enterprise is ‘Flight of the Gibbon’ owned and operated by non-residents and recently opened. With the approval of the village tourism committee, ‘Flight of the Gibbon’ was established in early 2008 to provide adventure tour package for tourists to fly through the treetops on cables. Overall, the attraction incorporates 18 platforms, sky bridges and lowering stations connected by two kilometres of zip lines that would take tourists through different layers of the rainforest canopy (Flight of the Gibbon, 2008). Since opening in January 2008, the number of clients is between 40 and 70 persons²³ per day and the price is 3,299 baht per person²⁴ (including transportation from and to Chiang Mai city and lunch). Based on the minimum number of clients, tourism revenue of this venture could be about 48 million baht per year.



Figure 6.4 The new adventurous tourism activity at Mae Kam Pong

Source: www.treetopasia.com

6.2.3 Tourism history and statistics

Tourism in Ban Mae Kampong is very recent, having been initiated in 2000. According to a former village headman, poverty was a major problem for this

²³ Data from informal conversation with the villagers in November 2008

²⁴ Data from www.treetopasia.com

community so there was a need to create jobs for the villagers to gain more income and the idea of community ecotourism was raised in response to a decline in demand for fermented tea products. At that time he was a village headman so, in that position, he had many opportunities to attend various training programmes and site visits to study ecotourism. After gaining much experience, he started to analyse and recognise the potential tourism resources in Mae Kam Pong village. Therefore, he began to discuss his idea with other formal and informal leaders in the village, such as the school principal²⁵ and the Lord Abbot of the temple.

Before tourism commenced, several organisations were asked to provide more knowledge about community-based tourism, including its advantages and disadvantages. The first external assistance started in April 1999 when a team from the Chiang Mai Rotary Club came to the village to discuss community-based tourism development with a small group of community leaders (Taecharawan, 2001). From this information and discussions, agreement was reached among the community leaders that developing community-based tourism would be a good idea. At this point, a whole village forum was arranged to discuss and to make decisions together about the form this tourism might take. With assistance and support from external organisations, government, non-government and private organisations, the first community-based tourism venture occurred in July 2000 when a home stay service was provided for a group of 24 Japanese and Hong Kong students who stayed four days and three nights (Taecharawan, 2001). At this early stage, community-based tourism activities included village sightseeing and cultural experiences, and only five houses were able to provide a home stay service.

The formal commencement of Mae Kam Pong community-based tourism occurred on December 10, 2000 and it was incorporated into the government's 'One Tambon One Product' (OTOP) Project that aimed to promote Tambons' local products (Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, 2004). The OTOP project helped facilitate further development of community-based tourism at Ban Mae Kam Pong, mostly in terms of promoting the destination through several media. Various training programmes were organised also to strengthen the management system of the community's tourism organisation. In addition, the TRF sponsored a research project

²⁵ The school in the village was still opened at that time

(2001-2003) to determine the appropriate form of community-based tourism for Ban Mae Kam Pong. This action research greatly helped the villagers in understanding the concept of community-based tourism.

Table 6.2 demonstrates the significant growth in tourism numbers to the village since 2001. There was rapid growth in the first few years of operation; tourist numbers increased 99, 51 and 44 percent in 2002, 2003 and 2004, respectively, but started from a very low base. Receiving national accreditation as a Home Stay Thai village in 2004 and 2006 made Mae Kam Pong well known as one of the best home stay villages in Thailand. In 2006 when Ban Mae Kam Pong was awarded the OVC, there was a large increase in tourist numbers to the village. According to the president of the VTC in the same year, an International Horticulture Exposition for His Majesty the King; the Royal Flora Ratchapruek 2006, which ran from 1 November 2006 to 31 January 2007, also impacted considerably on the numbers of tourists, which increased by about 67 percent, from about 1,100, in 2005, to about 1,800, in 2006. At Mae Kam Pong, the number of domestic tourists was higher than international tourists about two to four times; this might be due to Mae Kam Pong publicised at the national level more than at the international level.

Table 6.2 Tourist numbers for Mae Kam Pong Home Stay Village

Year	Tourist Numbers			
	Domestic	International	Total	Growth (%)
2001	145	102	247	N A
2002	330	163	493	99.6%
2003	539	206	745	51.12%
2004	667	406	1073	44.03%
2005	815	259	1074	0.09%
2006	1284	508	1792	66.85%
2007	1053	519	1572	-12.28%
2008 ²⁶	831	285	1116	N A

Source: Tourist number record book provided by the VTC president in November, 2008

²⁶ Tourist number and tourism revenue of year 2008 was recorded in only five months from January to May during the fieldwork period (November 2008).

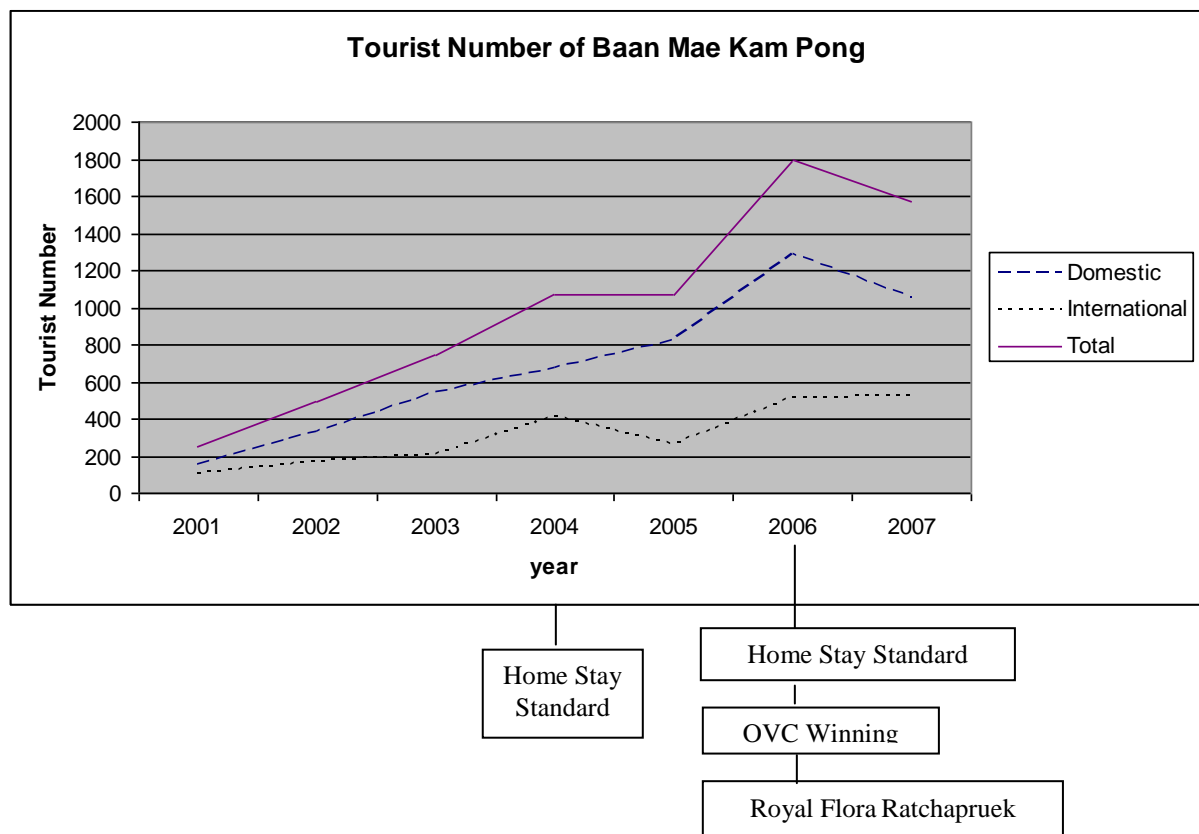


Figure 6.5 Historically significant events affecting Mae Kam Pong from 2001 to 2007

Tourism at Ban Mae Kam Pong generated only small tourism revenue in the early years of operation. From Table 6.3, it can be seen there is a significant increasing trend in tourism revenue during the seven year period since tourism began. Tourism revenue in Ban Mae Kam Pong had expanded tremendously from approximately 90,000 baht in 2001 to reach one million baht in 2006. It can be seen that tourist revenue was consistent with tourist numbers because this community had set a standard price for all community-based tourism activities and services (Table 6.1). The initial standard price has remained unchanged to the present day.

Table 6.3 Revenue from community-based tourism of Mae Kam Pong

Year	Tourism Revenue (Baht)	Growth
2001	86,650	NA
2002	172,880	99.52%
2003	260,952	50.94%
2004	645,228	147.26%
2005	624,250	-3.25%
2006	1,060,870	69.94%
2007	983,975	-7.25%
2008 ²⁷	567,750	NA

Source: Tourist number record book provided by the VTC president in November, 2008

6.3 The Organisations involved with tourism planning and management at Ban Mae Kam Pong

6.3.1 Haey Kaew Thambon Administrative Authority (HKTAA)

Thambon Haew Kaew comprises eight villages with a total of 1,272 households including Ban Mae Kam Pong (Haey Kaew Thambon Administrative Authority [HKTAA], 2009). In common with TAAs throughout Thailand, HKTAA's responsibilities cover many aspects of development at the local level which mainly focus on infrastructure and social development. Therefore, the tourism development plan is one sub-section of the HKTAA three year development plan (2009-2011). This tourism plan outlines four planned activities; providing destination signboards to promote tourism, landscape and destination development, training ecotourism education and developing a Huay Kaew tourist information centre (HKTAA, 2008).

When considering the 2008 HKTAA performance report, only one tourism development activity was found - provision of tourism destination signboards for promotion (HKTAA, 2009). Consistent with this, the HKTAA member revealed in an interview that

²⁷ Tourist number and tourism revenue of year 2008 was recorded in only five months from January to May during the fieldwork period (November 2008).

HKTAA places emphasis mostly on occupational development; for example, providing a tea leaf dryer machine for supporting tea leaf pillow production, and providing a Thambon coffee dryer plant for coffee bean drying. Regarding tourism, the HKTAA was involved in developing some tourism routes and providing signboards for tourism destinations in Huay Kaew Thambon, but this signboard was located in the area behind the HKTAA office, which was not a good location for tourists to see. There is also a plan to develop the Huay Kaew tourist information centre which will provide tourism information for all eight villages in the area.

6.3.2 Mae Kam Pong Royal Project Electricity Cooperative (MKPREC)

The Mae Kam Pong Royal Project Electricity Cooperative (MKPREC) is the community organisation which has primary responsibility for the economic activities in the village including tourism activities, coffee bean trading with members and the sale of rice to members. Since tourism began in 2000, the community decided to declare tourism as one economic activity under the MKPREC because this needed to be recorded systematically for producing financial statements every year. For tourism operations, MKPREC established the VTC to manage community-based tourism (See Section 6.3.4).

As the name suggests, MKPREC was first established in 1986 for the main purpose of managing hydro electricity plants in the village, which had been built over the previous decade (interview with the president of MKPREC in November, 2008). At present, MKPREC revenue is derived from various sources, for example, electricity fees, providing loans, trading coffee beans and rice, and tourism services.

Membership of the organisation is made up of adults from the village; at present, MKPREC has 167 members from the 126 households in the village; some households may have more than one member²⁸ (interview with the MKPREC president in November, 2008). The MKPREC is run by a committee which is elected by the organisation's members.

The idea of establishing a hydro electricity plant was initiated between the village headman and the village committee after recognising successful projects in other communities. After the village passed an evaluation of the area's potential by the Department of Alternative Energy Development and Efficiency, construction began in December 1982. The villagers had significant involvement in the construction of the

²⁸ Some households have more than one family living in them, so in this situation there might be more than one member from these households; each family has one representative.

hydro electricity plant. The government supplied power generators and cables while the villagers provided labour and other construction materials such as stone, sand and wooden posts for electrical cables, all of which were available in their natural environment ("Sustainable steps", 2007). After one year, the first electric light bulb was turned on in December 1983. Besides providing electricity for individual use, this plant also provided electricity for the temple, school and public areas free of charge. The hydro electricity plant was originally run by the village committee until MKPREC was established two years later.

After succeeding with the first project, the second (20 KW) and third (40 KW) hydro electricity plants were developed in 1987 and 1994 respectively, to expand their capacity to supply electricity both in the village and the adjacent villages (interview with the MKPREC president). However, there was a big change in 2002 when the Provincial Electricity Authority (PEA) extended its service into the area resulting in there being two systems that each house may switch between. Although the hydro electricity fee is cheaper it is less stable than the PEA system, therefore, most villagers tend to use the PEA system rather than the hydro system, resulting in a substantial decline of the MKPREC's revenue from hydro electricity.

At Ban Mae Kam Pong, all community-based tourism activities are operated by the villagers and all income goes directly to the MKPREC. At the time of field work, tourism constituted the large majority (92%) of the MKPREC annual revenue of 1,067,382 baht. The components of tourism revenue and costs are presented in Table 6.4. According to the cooperative system, all community-based tourism revenue must go directly to MKPREC then operating costs will be paid individually to the people involved. Due to legal requirements in Thailand, this financial statement must be audited by the Cooperative Auditing Department, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (The Cooperatives Act, 1999). This makes clear accounting information which presents transparently the source of tourism revenue and how it was disbursed. At the end of 2007, the total operating fund of MKPREC was 2.23 million baht which had increased dramatically not only from profits generated from its economic activities each year but also from the 1.3 million baht reward for the Best OTOP project in 2001 and 2002 (Phetclaiy, 2008). After discussion among the villagers, the collective decision was made to make this reward an additional fund of MKPREC

rather than distributing between individual members (interview with the VTC president and a VTC committee's member).

Every year this financial statement is presented at the annual village meeting to report the MKPREC's performance and to declare dividends to its members. From the 2007 financial statement, about 74 percent of tourism revenue was paid for operating costs, most of which went to individuals directly involved in tourism activities. After that, about 18 percent was paid for administrative costs, some of which were paid to individuals and others paid for collective benefits such as the village development fund and the destination maintenance and improvement. The rest was net profit from tourism (8.37 percent of tourism revenue) which is integrated with profits from other MKPREC businesses and, finally, are considered dividend payment. From the overall MKPREC net profit in 2007 (75,150 baht), almost 20 percent (13,615 baht) was declared as dividends based on the number of share holdings (Phetclaiy, 2008).

Table 6.4 Components of tourism revenue and costs (2007)

Details	Amount (Baht)	Proportion (%)
Tourism Revenue	983,975	100.00
-Home stay	759,100	77.15
-Traditional dance and music	42,600	4.33
-Bai Sri ceremony	13,200	1.34
-Local guide service	23,470	2.39
-Meals provision	84,825	8.62
-Village development fee	28,080	2.85
-Transportation service	31,000	3.15
-Lecturing fee	1,700	0.17
Operating costs	726,284	73.81
-Home stay	579,792	58.92
-Meals	59,955	6.09
-Local guide paid	28,137	2.86
-Traditional dance and music	41,000	4.17
-Bai Sri costs	17,400	1.77
Operating profit	257,691	26.19
Administrative costs	175,360	17.82
-Destination improvement	7,565	0.77
-Office equipment depreciation	539	0.05
-Communication and management costs	60,008	6.10
-Village development fund	63,818	6.49
-Village sight seeing	1,050	0.11
-Transportation cost	31,800	3.23
-Bus parking fees	4,400	0.45
-Destination maintenance	6,180	0.63
Net Profit from tourism	82,331	8.37

Source: Auditor report of Mae Kam Pong Royal Project Electricity Cooperative of year 2007

6.3.3 The Thailand Research Fund (TRF) research team

Tourism planning at Ban Mae Kam Pong has involved different players in different stages of tourism development. In the initial stage in 2000, after catering for a group of Hong Kong and Japanese students, a group of community leaders discussed broadly and intensively the problems that had arisen in this venture in order to understand the causes and improve community-based tourism in the village (Taechaarawan, 2001). At this stage, there were only informal discussions about tourism issues in the community. Tourism planning began formally when the TRF provided a research fund (300,000 baht) and consultation through the research project called “Form of sustainable conservative tourism operation at Ban Mae Kam Pong” (2001-2003) (Paungmala, 2003). The TRF research aimed to explore the current tourism situation in the village, to search for tourism potential in the community, to develop a form of sustainable conservation tourism and to raise the villagers’ awareness of environmental conservation in order to maintain the community-based tourism resources. The research team was all local, comprising nine villagers and headed by the village headman at that time who is the current president of the VTC.

During the TRF research project (Paungmala, 2003), the first tourism plan for the village was developed by the research team cooperating with representatives from the six village clusters or “Pang” (40 persons in total). The plan was then presented to a village meeting. At the meeting, 71 villagers participated and there was also a group of outsiders who had been invited to comment on the community-based tourism plan and to give advice (Paungmala, 2003). According to the first tourism plan, its components covered various issues relating to tourism including the form tourism should take, the tourism activities to be made available, the opportunities for employment for locals, the costing of the tourism product and the way in which income from tourism should be distributed, supplementary occupations for villagers, tourism advertising and public relations and tourism pricing (Paungmala, 2003). The plan was presented to the villagers for comment at a community meeting, and was then modified slightly based on their feedback and approved.

6.3.4 The Village Tourism Committee (VTC)

As outlined above, in 2001 the Village Tourism Committee (VTC) was established by the village committee²⁹ (interview with the VTC president in November, 2008). This committee was comprised of nine people; some were from the village committee and the rest from the MKPREC committee. The current president of the VTC is the former village headman. The VTC is responsible for managing community-based tourism in the village, which includes planning and developing a community-based tourism operation system, being a tourist booking contact point, distributing jobs to the villagers involved in tourism, and monitoring and undertaking quality control of all services to ensure they follow the community's tourism collective agreement.

From observation, community-based tourism operation at Mae Kam Pong seems to be done in a sustainable way whereby the cultural and environmental conservation are prioritised alongside the economic goal of development. The village rules and regulations are the collective agreement at this community to control the direction of community-based tourism development and its expansion. The VTC posts the community-based tourism rules and regulations in main public areas, for example, in the pavilion at the waterfall, the temple, and also at some home stay houses, in order to make these clear to both the tourists and the home stay hosts. These rules and regulations are presented in Table 6.5.

²⁹ The village committee is a committee for village administration established by Thai law.

Table 6.5 Community-based tourism rules and regulations at Mae Kam Pong (partially)

Rules and regulations sectors	Details
1. Community and tourists' security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Traffic signs, to be aware of danger and the speed limit 35 km/hr in the village were prepared -Forest trekking requires local guides (not exceeding five tourists per guide for security reasons and for watching tourists' behaviour towards the environment)
2. Building and landscape conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Do not drop garbage in public and in the natural areas -Each house should be kept clean and tidy and have good sanitation. -Villagers must help plant houseplants on their property
3. Forest resource conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Do not encroach on the forest area (both for residential and agricultural purposes) -Tree cutting requires village permission -Do not step on /destroy the forest's plant life except for particular fast growing species which can be replaced by re-planting
4. Wildlife resource conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Hunting is prohibited in the entire village area, which is declared a "wildlife harm free area"
5. Stream and creek conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Individual buildings need to be located at least two metres away from streams or creeks -Do not drop garbage or drain waste water into the streams -Do not shift/change the water flow for individual benefit
6. Local cultural and traditions conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Do not behave out of local norms and traditions -Dress in traditional style and present local friendliness to tourists
7. Increasing sources of income for tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Five percent of individual benefits from the home stay service (accommodation) and the local guide service will be deducted for the village fund -Charging for public toilets -Charging for public parking -Renting space for stall sellers is reserved only for the villagers

Source: Paungmala, 2003

Currently, the tourism plan is revised annually by the VTC but is still largely based on the guidelines from the initial tourism plan developed during the TRF research project (2001-2003), and is integrated into the overall community development plan (Five

Year Plan 2008-2012). From the analysis of the community development plan, tourism appears to be one of the major components. In the section on village development directions and goals, the village vision is stated as:

Ban Mae Kam Pong is an ecotourism destination, a site for learning about community energy (hydro electricity), and a self-sufficient economic village that leads to be a wealthy community (Mae Kam Pong village community, 2008, p. 27).

The village missions are indicated as follows:

1. Landscape, natural resources and environment improvement
2. Human resource development to cope with tourism activities leading to sustainability.
3. Establishing a community learning centre for tourism, energy and a self-sufficient economy.
4. Natural resource conservation and energy saving activities,
5. Local product development. (Mae Kam Pong village community, 2008, p. 29)

It can be seen that Ban Mae Kam Pong has a clear vision and mission for community development with an emphasis on conservation and maintenance of the local natural resources and village landscape, building capacity of the community members to provide tourism services, establishing a community learning centre and local products development. All these themes support sustainable tourism development in all perspectives: environmental, economic, and cultural. The village mission statements indicate the direction of community development; noticeably, from the community development plan, top priorities are placed on environmental issues and people development alongside the economic issues. Currently, the main tourism activities in Mae Kam Pong seem to be routine; everyone knows what to do and how to do it when tourists arrive (Personal observation, November 2008). Therefore, in the current tourism plan, there is not as much detail as in the initial tourism plan.

At this community, the plan for tourism development is enacted by the VTC; the plan for establishing a community learning centre is an obvious example. This community learning centre will not only provide knowledge about community-based tourism, community energy operation, and the application of self-sufficient economic principles to tourists, but also be a centre for information gathering and storing of local knowledge and wisdom for the next generation. While this learning centre has not yet been established, the plans are progressing, as the VTC president outlined:

The progress of a plan to establish a community learning centre is in the process of information gathering, design presentation and the production of materials. The 200,000 baht budget received from the Development of Tourism, Ministry of Tourism and Sports as Ban Mae Kam Pong was one of 11 nationwide communities selected to join the project called ‘hospitality management’³⁰

The VTC has initiated many tourism activities in the village, with most being adapted from local traditions and ways of life in which the villagers are encouraged to participate in order to gain supplementary income. Several training sessions have been organised for interested villagers using both lecturers from outside organisations and speakers from within the community who had experience from attending workshops and/or site visiting. Some were sponsored by outside agencies while others were self-sponsored. Details of some training programmes are given in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Examples of tourism training programmes at Mae Kam Pong

Training topics	Trainers	Timing	Number of participants
Home stay business marketing and planning	TAT	December, 2000	n.a
Ecotourism operation	Arawan UPC tour, TAT officer	June, 2001	101
Being good hosts and tour guide services	Dr La-eiad Silanoi	January, 2002	45
Eco friendly way of living	Community leaders	January, 2003	50
Ecotourism and forest and cultural conservation	Community leaders	April, 2003	45
Service mind and tour guide services	Lecturers from Chiang Mai Rajabhat University	May, 2003	24
Tourism fund management	Community leaders	June, 2003	5
Tour guide services	TAT officers	December 2003	30
Developing occupational skills	Lecturer from Chiang Mai University	December, 2003 January, 2004	78
Tour guide services	Lecturer from Chiang Mai University	February, 2004	20
Local guide knowledge	Thailand Community Based Tourism Institute (CBT-I)	May, 2008	30
Massage practices	Department of Skills Development	May, 2007	20

Source: Boonnate (2004), Paungmala (2003) and interview with the VTC president November, 2008

³⁰ The full name is the “Capacity Building Programme on Community-based Tourism: Hospitality Management” (2007-2008) by Asian Centre for Tourism Planning and Poverty Reduction.

There are processes and standards to be adhered to when applying for home stay host status in this community, which are set also by the VTC. This standard is also used for assessing existing home stay hosts to ensure standard services are provided. The standards of home-stay characteristics are presented as follows:

- All household members must agree together to be willing to share their house with tourists
- House is able to provide a bedroom or enough sleeping space for at least one guest
- Having appropriate house facilities maintained in a hygienic condition, especially the kitchen and toilet
- Head of household must be mature enough to be responsible for both the tourists and household members' security
- Having good cooperation with the VTC
- Each household must accept and obey the community's rules and regulations, as declared by the VTC (Boonnate, 2004, p 25).

Besides setting the community-based tourism standards, the VTC has an important role also in facilitating effective tourism operation. Not only is the VTC critical to the development and implementation of tourism, but the organisation is also responsible for providing rapid responses to feedback from villagers regarding any questions or concerns about tourism. This rapid response to enquiries has helped motivate on-going community participation. For example, although Mae Kam Pong employed a seemingly fair queuing system in which each host took a turn in providing a home stay service, some villagers still felt a sense of inequality. This was because, practically, sometimes many groups of tourists come on the same day but each group prefers to stay in the same house, so one host may cater to a larger group than others; this situation creates income inequality. In this situation, the VTC was able to respond quickly to address this issue before it developed into a major conflict, as was explained by one village tourism committee:

Previously, there was a small conflict among the home stay hosts; they wondered "Which group should stay in which house?" Therefore, to avoid conflict from this inequality, the VTC made a collective agreement with all home stay members that if there were more than one group of tourists visiting on the same day, the 200 baht accommodation fee per guest would be calculated for the total number of guests that day and divided by the number of houses serving on that day; by this rule, they all earned equal money in terms of accommodation fees whether they served a large or small group of tourists.

6.4 Demographic data of Mae Kam Pong surveyed sample

Table 6.7 presents demographic data of the respondents to the survey conducted in Mae Kam Pong. The number of sample was 60³¹. Three quarters of the respondents were born in this village and most of the migrant residents were women who married villagers and moved to live in their community. The average length of residence for the migrant group was 25 years. Given the integration of migrants into the native families, and their long length of residence, the residents of this community are not divided into migrants and residents for the purpose of this study. Another point to note is that approximately 70 percent of respondents in this survey are female. This is due to a limitation which occurred with conducting the data collection process and may mean that the sample does not adequately represent the entire population of this community (See Chapter 3 Section 3.4). Almost 70 percent of the respondents were aged between 41 and 60 years. More than 80 percent of the respondents have an occupation in agriculture. The average household income of the respondents is 53,257 baht per year; this amount is far lower than an average national house income as it was only a quarter of the 2007 national household income (NSO, 2011). This reflects that the respondents at this community were much poorer than Thai people in general.

³¹ Sample size for the 10% precision level where the confidence level is 95% and the degree of variability (P)=0.5)

Table 6.7 Demographic data of Mae Kam Pong sample

Demographic data	Answer	Percentage (%)
Born in Village	Yes	75
	No	25
Length of residence for migrant residents	(years)	25.07
Gender	Male	28.3
	Female	71.7
Number of household members	(persons)	3.33
Age	(Years)	30-81
Age range	≤ 20	0%
	21-30	2%
	31-40	17%
	41-50	25%
	51-60	42%
	≥ 60	15%
Occupation	Small business owners	5.0
	employee	5.0
	Agriculture & Fishery	83.3
	Part time hires	5.0
	Others	1.7
Average Household Income	(Baht/year)	53,257
Minimum Household Income	(Baht/year)	15,000
Maximum Household Income	(Baht/year)	144,000

Note: * Sample size for the 10% precision level where the confidence level is 95% and the degree of variability (P) = 0.5)

Crosstabulation analysis and Chi-Square Tests were conducted to analyse if there were differing opinions about participation in tourism development and its impacts between male and female respondents. The results are presented in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Differences between male and female respondents' opinion on tourism development and its impacts in Mae Kam Pong

Opinions about participation in tourism development and its impacts	Differences between male and female respondents
Individual participation in tourism development	Different
Tourism disturbs local way of life	Not different
Tourism improves basic infrastructure	Not different
Tourism assists cultural conservation	Not different
Tourism improves the well-being of household	Not different
There is a fair and equitable benefit distribution	Not different
Tourism leads to environmental degradation	Not different
The overall satisfaction on tourism development	Different

Note: See detail in Appendix E.2

Most of the results reveal that there are no statistical differences on these issues between male and female respondents in Mae Kam Pong. Only two issues: 'Individual participation in tourism development' and 'The overall satisfaction on tourism development' were found different. There were more female respondents agreeing to these statements than male respondents. This may relate to the major community-based tourism activity at Mae Kam Pong is a home stay which the major part of the residents involving are females.

The next section discusses negative impacts from tourism at Mae Kam Pong. It is important to investigate tourism impacts occurring in the community because the impacts are generally the consequence of tourism planning and operation. As in the previous chapter, this section focuses only on the negative tourism impacts because the positive impacts are considered as benefits from tourism; they are discussed in section 6.6.3.

6.5 Negative Tourism Impacts

Table 6.9 presents the survey results of the residents' attitudes towards tourism development in Mae Kam Pong. The results from Table 6.9 are incorporated with qualitative findings under the two sub headings: social and cultural impacts and environmental tourism impacts. During the fieldwork, there appeared to be no negative economic impacts at Mae Kam Pong.

Table 6.9 Respondents' attitude towards tourism development at Mae Kam Pong

Respondents' attitude	Percentage (%)					Score from a full score of 1.0
1. The number of tourists*	Increase	Decrease			Stay the same	
	51.7	0.00			48.3	
2. Problems associated with tourism development*	Yes		No			
	80		20			
	Disagree strongly (0)	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	Agree somewhat (0.75)	Agree strongly (1.0)	
3. Outside operators have too much control over tourism in this community.	25.0	73.3	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.19
4. Tourism activities in this community have disturbed our local way of life.	63.3	35.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.10
5. The presence of tourists is having a negative effect on young people's behaviour.	25.0	70.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.20
6. Tourism leads to environmental degradation in this area.	95.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.01
7. I enjoy interacting with tourists.	0.0	0.0	10.0	35.0	55.0	0.86

Respondents' attitude	Disagree strongly (0)	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	Agree somewhat (0.75)	Agree strongly (1.0)	Score from a full score of 1.0
8. Tourism improves the well-being of my household.	0.0	0.0	23.3	38.3	38.3	0.79
9. There is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism in this community.	0.0	0.0	16.7	23.3	60.0	0.86
10. I am proud that tourists want to come to my community.	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	96.7	0.99
11. Tourism generates more economic benefits than costs for my community.	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	95.0	0.99
12. Tourism has improved the basic infrastructure in my community.	0.0	0.0	1.7	50.0	48.3	0.87
13. Tourism assists cultural conservation in this community.	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	95.0	0.99
14. Overall, I am satisfied with tourism development in this community.	0.0	0.0	10.0	33.3	56.7	0.87

Note * these two questions have different type of answers and no need for score calculation

6.5.1 Social and cultural Impacts

The survey results report that 98 percent of respondents disagreed that ‘tourism activities have disturbed the local way of life’. Ninety-five percent disagreed also with the statement that ‘the presence of tourists has a negative effect on young people’s behaviour’. These findings reflect very low social and cultural impacts from tourism at this community. However, there might be other social and cultural impacts beyond what were written in the questionnaire survey.

Although, tourism operation at Ban Mae Kam Pong was developed based on the principle of community participation in order to open opportunities for everyone in the village to be involved and receive benefits from tourism, conflicts within the community have begun to occur due to the income disparities among the villagers. The survey reveals that 16.7 percent of respondents chose ‘neither agree nor disagree’ answer to the statement ‘there is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism’, although the remainder of the respondents agreed with the statement. The perfectly equitable income distribution seems to rarely occur in reality; while opportunities to participate in tourism are shared with everyone, not everyone can benefit due to differences in skills, resources and interests. Some may have the potential to be home stay hosts while others may not. The emergence of tourism in the community has provided opportunities for its members to grasp but in the meantime some practices and training may be needed for all members to be equally involved.

From informal conversations with some local residents, it was found that some residents, particularly in ‘Pang Nok’³², felt that they were not involved in tourism activities and could not gain as much income as the villagers in ‘Pang Nai’. The researcher continued asking why they did not join a home stay or a massage group; some said that they had no money to improve their houses and some said that they were not capable of catering for tourists while one villager said that she was not interested in such activities. Despite the fact that everyone in the village can get interest-free loans for home stay house improvement, a minority of villagers seemed to have a jealous attitude because of income disparities. Generally, the villagers often compared themselves to the others, especially, in terms of income rather than the effort people put into the tasks.

³² The most far village cluster from ‘Pang Nai’ - a village tourism centre

The recently emerged ‘Flight of the Gibbon’ operation appears to have had already a negative impact on the villagers’ way of life. The villagers felt less safe due to many more outsiders coming into the village; not only tourists, but company staff and non-resident guides and drivers. Generally, these groups are less likely to interact with the villagers, unlike the home stay tourist groups. During fieldwork observation, one villager, when chatting with the researcher used the word “stranger” for this group of people, while using the word “guest” for the groups of home stay tourists. She added that:

The villagers feel less safe; everyone must look after their property much more carefully than before because there are many more strangers coming every day. Since Flight of the Gibbon began operation, there are more and more customers coming and the numbers of vehicles on the roads had increased considerably. Sometimes, the drivers drove very fast through the village many times a day. This impact has also made the villagers feel less safe when crossing the road and it is also noisy.

6.5.2 Environmental Impacts

The survey results reveal that all respondents in this community disagreed with the statement ‘tourism leads to environmental degradation’ (Table 6.9). This finding reflects the fact that tourism development at Mae Kam Pong seems to have been managed in a sustainable way to date. At this community, there are lots of rules and regulations to control tourism and these rules and regulations were also adhered to very well by the community members.

In addition, the survey results reveal that about half of the respondents wanted the number of tourists to stay the same while another half wanted to see more tourists visiting their community. These reflect different perceptions of respondents about the village carrying capacity and tourism impacts in the community; some respondents may feel that more tourists may generate more costs rather than benefits while some may feel inversely. Interestingly, 80 percent of the respondents at Mae Kam Pong agreed that there were problems associated with tourism development. These findings reflect that there might be some problems related to tourism development at this community which could be exposed from qualitative findings (See Chapter 8).

The previous part of this chapter mostly introduces the case study community and its tourism development and management as well as tourism impacts at the community. The remainder of the chapter presents the analysis of the findings related to

community participation in tourism development, separated into three sections: community participation in tourism planning and decision making, community participation in tourism operation and management, and community participation in benefits from tourism. The chapter concludes by discussing the evidence of structural and cognitive social capital in Mae Kam Pong.

6.6 Community participation in tourism development at Mae Kam Pong

6.6.1 Community participation in tourism planning and decision making

Table 6.10 presents the survey results relating to community participation in tourism planning at Mae Kam Pong. The survey results reveal that the respondents in this community appear to have a relatively high level of community participation in tourism planning and decision making. Forty percent of the respondents reported that they were directly involved in tourism planning. Similarly, almost all respondents agreed that ‘I can participate in tourism development if I want to’ (95%) and all agreed with the statement: ‘I feel local people have an influence in decision making about tourism development’.

Table 6.10 Community participation in tourism planning, operation and management, and benefits at Mae Kam Pong

Community participation items	Answer (scoring system)	Percentage (%)
1. Directly involved in tourism	Yes	51.7
	No	48.3
2. Skill development	A lot	74.2
	Some	25.8
	Not at all	0.0
3. Household member involved in tourism	Yes	23.7
	No	76.3
4. Involved in tourism planning	Yes	40.0
	No	60.0
5. I can participate in tourism development in this community if I want to.	Disagree strongly (0)	0.0
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	0.0
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	5.0
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	48.3
	Agree strongly (1)	46.7
	Score	0.85
6. I feel local people have an influence in decision making about tourism development in this community.	Disagree strongly (0)	0.0
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	0.0
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	0.0
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	1.7
	Agree strongly (1)	98.3
	Score	1.00
7. Tourism in my community doesn't benefit me.	Disagree strongly (0)	46.7
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	21.7
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	28.3
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	3.3
	Agree strongly (1)	0.0
	Score	0.22

At Mae Kam Pong, the residents participated in the decision making process from the initial stage of development when the question was asked: “Should the village be opened for tourism?” Once they all agreed, the village rules and regulations about community-based tourism were developed in consultation with the residents. Consequently, most residents cooperate and respect the village rules and regulations fully. During an interview (November, 11, 2008), the VTC president remarked that:

The village rules and regulations are developed with the villagers’ participation so they are adhered to by the villagers very well, perhaps better than the formal law enforcement.

This reflects the fact that rules and regulations the local people had participated in developing seemed to be more consistent with local, traditional ways of life, resulting in more practical and effective implementation.

Arguably, to achieve effective community participation, it is essential to build a proper understanding amongst residents about what they are going to participate in and how it can be important to them and their village. Once the residents understand, the question of how to operate tourism in their community ideally should be left for them to find appropriate solutions within their own community. In the case of Mae Kam Pong before making the decision to open the village for tourism, villagers were educated by outside organisations about tourism development and involvement, which included the advantages and disadvantages of tourism. This insight demonstrates that building knowledge and proper understanding of community-based tourism development is a first step to motivate community participation. This was a starting point to inspiring local people to participate in tourism development, which they then understood could help better their lives and community.

Community readiness preparation was also established before Ban Mae Kam Pong became involved in community-based tourism, whereby a group of community leaders had intensive discussions, both formally and informally, with several external organisations in order to get everything well prepared before starting tourism operation (physical tourism resources, the readiness of villagers and management system). It can be seen that tourism at Ban Mae Kam Pong was initiated by a local leader. Although, much assistance was from outside, whether in the form of training, consulting or coordinating with other organisations, it is still the local people who participated in the initial stage of tourism development.

Using a committee system as a management mechanism helped increase opportunities for villagers to participate and share ideas through their representatives. The committee, comprising representatives from all village clusters, took part in sub-group discussions (10-20 persons per group) and then passed on sub-group opinions for discussion at the VTC level. These committee members are important because they are perceived as the same social status as the villagers, so villagers felt more comfortable to complain or talk openly with them (information from interview a VTC's member, November 28, 2008). Generally in Thai society, the traditional norm

is that the villagers are sub-ordinate to the village headman and they should not argue with their leader (Leksakundilok, 2004).

The VTC seems to be acting effectively by making all decisions through this committee mechanism. Arguably, this mechanism helps prevent some people keeping benefits for themselves rather than for all villagers. A genuinely representative committee should also prevent favourism or a kinship system in the village whereby benefits are distributed only among people tied by kinship relationships. In this way, everybody is treated fairly in regard to the village collective agreement (such as applying a queuing system for the home stay hosts). However, since Flight of the Gibbon has operated its business, the VTC's family seems to be benefitting much more than ordinary residents; this issue will be discussed later.

In the case of this community, the successful strategy for community participation in decision making seems to be the two-way communication between the village cluster chiefs and residents within each cluster. The village cluster chief is a linkage man who play an important role by checking opinions and feedbacks of the cluster members informally outside the meeting room in order to assess the real opinions, feedbacks or even suspicions from the local residents and to make clear any doubtful issue or to bring controversial issues into the open to be discussed at the next meeting.

Although currently there are a few non-native tourism operators in this community (two are non-resident and another is migrant), it appears that the power to control tourism development at Ban Mae Kam Pong at present remains in local hands. Sometimes the VTC receives suggestions both from tourists and tour agencies about home stay house facilities that should be modernised and made more convenient to satisfy and attract more tourists; for example, providing spring-mattresses, and coffee or tea at breakfast. However, the VTC considers the pros and cons of these suggestions carefully and in consultation with the whole village, and in this case decided against such changes to their traditional style of living. This does not mean that no changes are made; some suggestions had been carried out, for example, using modern toilets instead of the traditional style and installing water heaters for showers (interview with the VTC president).

Another example revealing local control of tourism development at this community occurred over one resort which provided a karaoke service for their guests

(Rungmanee, 2008) in contradiction to the village rules about noise control, which are set because the villagers always wake up very early to go to work in the tea forest. After several warnings by the village headman, the resort finally stopped providing this service (Interview with the MKPREC president, November 15, 2008).

As stated above, a new tourism venture, the ‘Flight of the Gibbon’, recently opened in 2008. The establishment of this enterprise was approved to open after several meetings between the outside investor and the village committee to discuss the construction plan and its environmental impacts as well as the benefits for the village and villagers (interview with VTC committee member, November 10, 2008). In the end, the village committee approved this project proposal because it was felt that it strongly emphasised an environmentally sound construction process, and the architectural design of the structure would harmonise with the surrounding forest. The economic benefits that are paid to the community is presenting in section 6.6.3. In this way, the VTC has a decisive say in tourism development decision making.

Before the business commenced, an agreement to pay rent and a donation to the village fund was established. Apart from the economic benefit agreement, there was also an agreement on environmental conservation that involved the re-forestation of the area (see Section 6.4.3). However, after one year of operation it had become apparent that this new tourism venture may have a number of negative impacts not envisaged by the village committee such as residents feeling less safe due to the presence of more tourists (see Section 6.5).

6.6.2 Community participation in tourism operation and management

Mae Kam Pong community does not have a high level of participation in tourism operation and management. The survey results from Table 6.10 show that about half of the respondents are directly involved in tourism where only a quarter of the respondents’ household members were involved in tourism. This is perhaps because tourism is still relatively new at this community and at this stage offers villagers supplementary occupations and incomes, while the major occupation is still agriculture. Mae Kam Pong residents participated in tourism operation in various ways including performing cultural shows and traditional music, providing local guide services, giving traditional massages, selling a range of local products and providing home stay services.

Besides participation in tourism activities which generate economic income to the villagers, local residents at Mae Kam Pong also participate in tourism facilities' improvement including grass removing and plantings along the village roadsides, developing the access ways along the seven levels of the waterfall, and building a pavilion and public toilets. The residents participated by providing labour on these projects which were largely funded from local and central government agencies and NGOs. This finding seems to exemplify that community participation in tourism operation assists the increasing social capital in the community.

Another form of participation for villagers was in natural resources conservation activities. The traditional village norm of conservation has been continued or strengthened with the emergence of tourism; in fact, it seems to have created a more definitive rationale for conservation because the villagers recognise that the natural resources support the community's tourism product. One village tourism committee member commented that:

The maintaining of natural resources is related directly to tourism, for example, if the wildfire occurred, it would create drought in the area and change the forest conditions and finally the waterfall will dry, so no tourists want to visit Ban Mae Kam Pong anymore.

6.6.3 Community participation in benefits from tourism

As described earlier, a major drive of an emergence of home stay tourism at Mae Kam Pong was to create jobs for the villagers to gain more income. A decade after the arrival of tourism, this goal of community-based tourism at Mae Kam Pong seems to be successful to some extent; each home stay host usually earns additional income of about 10,000-15,000 baht per year (information from observation of the three income record books of home stay hosts in November 2008) which accounted for about 20 percent of the household income in 2008. In addition, another economic positive impact from tourism is a doubling or even tripling in the number of local products being sold to tourists (Arabica coffee, tea pillows, and bamboo furniture). Basically, these local products were initially produced for commercial use but more and more tourists are seeking to buy them as souvenirs of their visit (interview with a local guide, December 1, 2008).

As local people have had a chance to participate in tourism operations, two-thirds (68%) of the respondents disagreed with the statement 'Tourism in my community

does not benefit me’ with most of the remainder being neutral on this issue. In addition, 77 percent of the respondents agreed that tourism improved the well-being of their household. The survey result reports these observational findings with a hundred percent of the respondents at Mae Kam Pong reporting that tourism has generated more economic benefits than costs for their community. Local people here may be affected by tourism impacts to some extent but they seem to be satisfied with the benefits of tourism.

The survey result presented in Table 6.9 reveals that 83 percent of the respondents agreed that ‘there is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism in this community’ which is a high proportion. This issue is considered as one of significant outcomes from effective community participation in tourism planning and decision making. However, this findings still reveals that some residents feel that some people are benefiting more than others (see Chapter 8)

Collective benefits are reported in the survey result presented in Table 6.9 which reveals that 98 percent of the respondents at Mae Kam Pong agreed that tourism has improved the basic infrastructure in this community. At this community, the villagers participated in communal benefits in the form of a village fund and a village welfare fund. These funds were derived from indicated proportions of tourism revenue (See Table 6.11). This village fund was reserved for the purpose of village development; for example, public facility repairs, building directional and tourist signs and paying for grass cutting to keep the village roadside tidy. In 2008, the village fund was used for buying tables and chairs for the temple (20,000 baht), and adding to the fund for the village project for provision of drinking water (50,000 baht), which had received insufficient funding from the government (interview with the VTC president and the member of the VTC committee, November 11, 2008). Currently, the welfare fund provides 1,000 baht compensation to every family on the death of a family member. An interview with the VTC president revealed that there was a plan to expand the welfare fund to cover more medical treatment expenses and an educational scholarship for children, if the welfare fund increases to reach 500,000 baht.

At Mae Kam Pong, the tourism income distribution system has been developed carefully emphasising the principle of equitable income distribution as presented in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11 Tourism income distribution at Mae Kam Pong

Tourism revenue	Income distribution	Type of benefit
A. Home stay standard package 550 baht /person (2 days-1 night with three meals)	1) 100 baht goes to the village fund (B) 2) 100 baht for village site seeing (B) 3) 200 baht goes to home stay host 4) 150 baht paid for three meals goes to host	Communal (1) Communal (2) Individual Individual
B. The communal benefit (1) and (2) equal 200 baht per person will be allocated after operating costs are deducted.	E.g. for 20 guests staying in five home stays. 1) Communal (1) +(2) of 20 guests = 4,000 baht <u>Deduct operating costs:</u> 2) Food offering to monks = 250 baht (50 baht per home stay) 3) Donation for two monks and a local Buddhist ceremony moderator = 300 baht (100 baht each) 4) Paid to occupation (e.g. bamboo weaving hat) group when visiting = 50 baht per time 5) The rest (C) = 3,400 baht	Individual Individual Communal Communal
C. The rest will be accumulated and allocated monthly.	1) 30% goes to MKPREC 2) 20% goes to the village fund 3) 25% is paid for management persons 4) 15% goes to the village welfare fund 5) 10% will be paid for VTC annual bonus	Communal Communal Individual Communal Individual

Source: Interview with the VTC president in November, 2008 and village's minutes

Basically, the home stay hosts earn 350 baht from the 550 baht of one night package per one guest (200 baht for accommodation and 150 baht for three meals). To ensure equal share opportunity, the management practice of home stay households at Ban Mae Kam Pong is based on the queuing system, where each house is assigned equally in order, from house numbers one to 18, then from house number one again.

Other villagers also have opportunities to share in tourism income. For example, a local Buddhist ceremony moderator is paid when leading tourists in a Buddhist ceremony, as are other occupational groups that tourists visit, such as the bamboo weaving group. All these illustrate that the tourism income distribution system at Ban Mae Kam Pong has been designed with a concern for every party involved in tourism. When considering benefits for the residents who are not involved in tourism, all

households in this village received tourism benefits in the form of dividends from MKPREC (See Section 6.3.2).

Regarding the non-resident tourism enterprises, an agreement was made with 'Flight of the Gibbon' before it commenced by which 100,000 baht would be paid to the village fund in the first year and 20,000 baht annually from the second year onwards (interview with the MKPREC president). It might be questioned if this is a fair amount for the village when the venture utilises local resources while producing potentially negative tourism impacts; this 20,000 baht per year represents about 0.04 percent of the annual revenue of the venture (48 million baht).

Less equitable, perhaps, is an individual 15-year-rental agreement with five villagers who own the area used for installing the cable lines and tree top platforms. The rent was 10,000 baht for the first year and 7,000 baht annually from the second year onwards (interview with one of the VTC committee). There is also one villager who leased his house as an office for a company and received a monthly rent of 6,000 baht. In addition, five villagers are full-time employees of this company as assistant cable flying instructors. From the interview with their manager, she revealed that 99 percent of her customers were international so it was difficult to hire local people due to language barriers.

Another form of benefit offered to an individual is a monopoly contract with the company for providing lunches for their customers awarded to the VTC president's family; which can generate a substantial high income per day (4,000 to 7,000 baht from the rate 100 baht per meal per person based on 40 to 70 customers per day - from personal conversation with one native resident) in comparison to the standard price of meal in the home stay package (50 baht per meal per person). One year after starting this contract, his family business - a restaurant - had doubled in size and business, and a new pick-up truck has been bought. A few villagers have begun questioning why other villagers could not take part in providing lunch for tourists like the VTC president's family.

In addition, one resort in the village owned by the Thai investor hired four villagers to work as carpenters for a resort extension, and hired one as a cleaner. This resort had obeyed the village rules and paid 100 baht per guest per night to the village fund for community development, as had the VTC president's family who rent out detached

houses. In contrast, the other resort owned by a migrant couple which refused to pay 100 baht into the village fund and none of its employees were local residents. The village headman and the VTC president claimed that these migrant investors should follow the village agreement because they live and run businesses in the village where the public facilities and natural resources benefit their guests (“Villagers and Investors”, 2004).

Besides receiving economic benefits, being a home stay host helped develop household well-being. According to the VTC president, household hygiene conditions improved considerably following the establishment of standard characteristics for village home stays. Once the host villagers provided home stays to tourists, it not only created supplementary income but also improved their standards of living. Another major improvement appeared to be the home stay host behaviours. Being a home stay provider helped strengthen a service-oriented mind-set, a sense of hospitality and a sense of responsibility to their guests as well as to the village rules and regulations. According to the VTC president, this might be the most valuable benefit from tourism development to strengthen the host villagers in improving themselves both physically and mentally. This is supported by the survey result from Table 6.10 which reports that about 74 percent of the respondents who were directly involved in tourism agreed that their skills were improved a lot and the rest felt their skills were improved to some extent.

Furthermore, it was found that most villagers enjoyed sharing their experience with tourists. This observation is supported by the survey result indicating that 90 percent of the respondents agreed that they enjoyed interacting with tourists (Table 6.9). Informal conversations with several villagers revealed that the rationale for providing the home stay service is not only for income but also to allow them to enjoy interacting with tourists. The impression of friendships between the villagers and the international tourists could be seen when one home stay host showed photos, postcards, and souvenirs sent from their guests.

Tourism development at Mae Kam Pong appears to be done in a sustainable way. Efforts of the residents in this regard include native tree planting activity (approximately 800 saplings per year (Boonnate, 2004)) which is carried out every year by the residents with the cooperation of the Business and Professional Woman’s

Association of Chiang Mai³³. The work of the community has been supported by the new venture, Flight of the Gibbon, which initiated the Primate Habitat Restoration Project in 2008. This project aims to plant fruit-bearing trees as a source of food for the primates. This project was developed in cooperation with the Forest Restoration Research Unit of the Biology Department at Chiang Mai University (Flight of the Gibbon, 2008). Consequently, this village seems to have few negative tourism impacts on their culture and environment at the current time (See Section 6.5). The survey results show a hundred percent of the respondents agreed with the issue ‘tourism assists cultural conservation’. This finding corresponds with community-based tourism rules and regulations which were adhered to very well at Mae Kam Pong.

Last but not least, local people at Mae Kam Pong community received benefits in the form of loan services provided by the MKPREC. Mae Kam Pong is a self-reliant community in terms of capital funding which is very rare in a rural agricultural community in Thailand (Rattanasuwongchai, 1998). At present, the village has sufficient funds to support such village development both collectively and individually. There are various types of loans for different purposes and different borrowers; for example, loans for home improvement to provide home stay services are available free of interest because the village had a policy to promote home stays; loans for group borrowers are also free of interest to support each occupation group. There are also loans for other purposes; for example, individual loans for product development (at a two percent interest rate per year) and individual loans for other purposes (eight percent interest rate per year). All loan types must be paid back within three years in three equal annual principal payments (interviews with the president of MKPREC, November, 2008).

The survey result from Table 6.9 reveals that 90 percent of the respondents reported overall satisfaction with tourism development in their community. This question was used as a proxy indicator reflecting an outcome of community participation in tourism development in the community through the local people’s views.

³³ This association was established to develop business and professional women in Chiang Mai, and beyond, by adapting to world changes in friendship, love, and unity and helping each other to help the community and the public of the north of Thailand.

This section suggests that Mae Kam Pong appears to be a community with a high level of community participation in tourism planning and decision making, operation and benefits. The strong norms of this community are apparent in their local way of life. Social networks within community observed in this community seem to be strong as well. All these community attributes may reflect a high level of social capital in this community. It is anticipated that a community with a high level of social capital tends to achieve genuine community participation in tourism development. The next section discusses this issue. Social capital has been measured through the household questionnaire survey together with interviews and observations.

6.7 The role of social capital in community participation in tourism development

As the earlier discussion in this chapter suggests, there appears to be a high level of social capital at this community. Table 6.12 and Table 6.13 present the survey results about structural social capital and cognitive social capital at Mae Kam Pong community.

Table 6.12 Structural social capital items at Mae Kam Pong

Social Capital Items	Answer (Scoring system)	Percentage (%)
1. The rules and regulations which are set by the village committee are adhered to very well	Disagree strongly (0)	0.0
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	0.0
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	18.3
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	21.7
	Agree strongly (1)	60.0
	Score	0.85
2. Labour exchange in agricultural tasks or one's house building happens often in this village	Disagree strongly (0)	0.0
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	0.0
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	23.3
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	71.7
	Agree strongly (1)	5.0
	Score	0.70
3. Average number of group memberships	(groups)	3.23
4. Level of group interaction with outsiders	No (0)	8.3
	Occasionally (0.5)	88.3
	Frequently (1)	3.3
	Score	0.47
5. Number of close friends	(persons)	7.35
6. Friend visits	(Times per year)	44.81
7. Number of relatives	(persons)	42.58
8. Relative visits	(Times per year)	69.87
9. Outside village visits	(Times per year)	2.32
10. Socialise with neighbours	(Times per year)	9.86
11. Temple visits	(Times per year)	25.07
12. Social event attending	(%)	89.75
13. Respondent's participating in communal activities	Yes	100.0
	No	0.0
14. Average number of participation in communal activities	(Times per year)	6.38
15. Average meeting attendance	(%)	88.08

The case study of Mae Kam Pong gained a high score (0.85) of residents obeying the village rules and regulations. In this community, the village rules seem to be adhered to very well which resulted in the nice and tidy village area as well as the warm welcome from the smiling faces of the villagers (observation from the researcher

when visiting as a tourist in January 2008 before starting fieldwork). There is also relatively high score (0.70) on labour exchange in this village representing a high level of the norm of reciprocity. A high average number of relatives (42.58), a high number of temple visits (25) and the high percentage of social event attending (89.75) represent many social networks within this community. Furthermore, all of the respondents in this community reported participating in communal activities. The respondents produced a high percentage of average meeting attendance (88 %) which reflects the respondents at this village have high interest in communal issues.

Table 6.13 Cognitive social capital items at Mae Kam Pong

Social Capital items	Score
1. People in this village can be trusted	0.76
2. People in this village are willing to help in an emergency if you need it	0.93
3. In this village, one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you.	0.18
4. I trust government officials from the Tambon Administrative Authority.	0.80
5. I trust central government officials	0.86
6. I feel safe from crime and violence when I am alone at home	0.95
7. I feel I have an influence over decision making in this village	0.80
8. I feel I have rights to participate or share opinion about community topics/projects	0.94
9. I feel I know about what is going on in this community	0.92
10. There is difference between community's members such as differences in economic wealth, social status and ethnicity.	0.53
11. If you suddenly needed to borrow money, are there people beyond your immediate household and close relatives in this community to whom you could turn and who would be willing to provide this money?	0.75
12. Time contributed to a community project	0.93
13. Money contributed to a community project	0.47
14. Villagers' cooperation for the village problem solving	1.00

Mae Kam Pong gains a high score on trust among the villagers (0.76), trust in local government (0.80) and trust in central government (0.86). The first social capital element - trust - between the villagers and their tourism leader seemed to be apparent through observations at Mae Kam Pong. To create a hospitality atmosphere and present the uniqueness of the village for tourists' appreciation, it required high level of cooperation among the entire community in following the village rules and regulations whether they are involved in tourism or not. For example 'Do not drop

rubbish, green waste, and sewage on public areas including streams', and 'Dress in traditional style and present local friendliness to tourists' (See Table 6.5).

The scores of 'villagers' willingness to help others' (0.93) and 'time contributed to a community project' (0.93) at this village is very high which reflect a strong norm of reciprocity and all respondents answered 'very likely' to the statement 'villagers' cooperation for the village problem solving'. However, the score of 'money contributed to a community project' was found at a moderate level (0.47). This might be related to people in this village having a very low per capita income (See Section 6.2.1); they may not be able to contribute money to a community project. The two important issues relating to the level of community participation report high scores at this village; they are included 'I feel I have an influence over decision making in this village' (0.80) and 'I feel I have rights to participate' (0.94).

Mae Kam Pong respondents produced a moderate score of 'difference between community's members' (0.53) which can be interpreted that there might be some social gap or income gap between people in this community. Arguably, a gap between community's members is one proxy indicator reflecting the level of social capital in the community. However, all respondents in this community agreed that the differences that occurred in this community did not cause problems.

The high level of cooperation of local people at Mae Kam Pong reflects strong community cohesion, as noted by the survey that all respondents participate in communal activities and they were very likely to cooperate for village problem solving. However, what underpins the strong norm at this community? Arguably, trust between community members may be the heart of 'community' which is a foundation to generate norms of the community. Lack of trust among community members results in people feeling more suspicious of each other and the community norms may not be strong and may not foster community participation in tourism development.

A self-reliant culture can also greatly influence community participation in tourism development. The self-reliant culture in the Ban Mae Kam Pong community has been seen since the era of village establishment. For example, temple building, in which the entire village travelled on foot with their cattle carrying building materials from the nearest town, which needed a few days to arrive because there was no road access at that time. Another example was the building of hydro electricity plants in which the

villagers played the main role by providing local construction materials and labour. This culture has been adapted to tourism development at this village, such as, the villagers' participation in developing the access ways along the seven-level waterfall. This self-reliant culture has been employed up to the present day. An interview with the VTC president revealed that (interview, November, 11, 2008),

It is our village norm that villagers have to participate in village development activities even though at present our village has sufficient money to spend for hiring workers but we do not want to do that way because it will ruin our norm of collective development. There is also participation by donating money for village improvement. For example, the budget for public area grass cutting was 50 percent from the village fund and 50 percent from village households.

Observing the village minutes revealed that there was a call for 40 baht donation per household for grass cutting expenses. The VTC president explained the simple logic that participation by the provision of labour was necessary for collective development activities because it created a sense of belonging among the villagers, reflecting the fact that maintenance of social capital needs a sacrifice of time and money from individuals (Kaosa-ard, 2004).

In addition, various occupational groups related to tourism activities are established in this village in order to give advice to new members and to be able to receive financial support from the MKPREC (See Section 6.4.4). Consistently, the survey findings show a high average number of group memberships within the community at Mae Kam Pong which is 3.23 group memberships per person. These are examples of bonding social capital which help increase opportunities for members to share experience in providing tourism services and also to participate in problem solving within the group. The relationships within the groups help to create an efficient knowledge transfer informally among group members also, which helps to improve and strengthen the group's tourism services and products.

Regarding bridging social capital, Mae Kam Pong established several connections to external organisations since the establishment of community-based tourism in the village. Much assistance has been sought, and gained, in the forms of training, consultation and developing tourism budgets. These connections are actively maintained to the present day by the VTC in order to gain additional assistance as necessary. An obvious benefit from bridging social capital appears to be the assistance to promote community-based tourism. In 2001-2002, Ban Mae Kam Pong received

assistance from the Cooperative Promotion Department to publish tourism brochures for the village both in the Thai and English language and these are still distributed today. Besides this, Ban Mae Kam Pong also has a web site that provides information for tourists (www.mae-kampong.com) that is supported by the Nagao Natural Environment Foundation (NEF). This finding supports Ashley and Roe (1998) who suggest that bridging with outsiders, such as marketing networks with tourist agencies, is important to foster tourism development in a community. Communities with bridging social capital appear to have greater chances of having small businesses emerge and develop than communities without this bridging (Karlsson, 2005).

6.8 Conclusion

The case study of Mae Kam Pong community has demonstrated a high level of community participation in tourism decision making, tourism operation and management as well as participation in benefits from tourism. Local residents have participated in tourism decision making through their representative, the VTC. Several groups of local people participated in providing tourism services such as home stay and gained substantial supplementary income. The principle of fairness and equitable benefit distribution has been employed in managing community-based tourism at this village, although there is perhaps some evidence of inequality emerging as outside investment in the community occurs. However, even the residents who were not involved in tourism still participate in receiving benefits from tourism such as dividend payments, a loan service and public infrastructure improvement.

It seems that social capital has played an important role in facilitating community participation in tourism development for this community, for example, a high level of trust among the villagers, a village's strong norm of cooperation, effective networks within the community, and networks between the community and the external organizations. However, there is perhaps some evidence of inequality emerging as outside investment in the community occurs. This may be due to tourism at this community begins to expanding and bringing more tourists and benefits into the community. The nature change of tourism development seems to have a large effect on both social capital and community participation in tourism development in this community. This issue will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

Chapter 7

The Association between Community Participation in Tourism Development and Social Capital

7.1 Introduction

Many social scientific concepts have complex and varied meanings; those concepts often have no clear and unambiguous single indicators. The concept of social capital and community participation in tourism development are no exception; they cannot be measured by single indicators. Composite measures are specific techniques for combining indicators into a single measure (Babbie, 2007). An index is a type of composite measure constructed by accumulating scores assigned to individual attributes (Babbie, 2007). This chapter outlines how social capital and community participation in tourism development (CPinTD) indexes have been calculated. It begins with the explanation of how social capital and CPinTD are measured. In the initial section of this chapter discusses the compared results of social capital score and community participation score between the two case study communities. The later sections explain the construction of social capital and CPinTD indexes and the correlation between the social capital index and the CPinTD index to examine how strong the association is between them.

7.2 Measuring community participation in tourism development and social capital

7.2.1 Community participation score

Table 7.1 presents the results of perceived community participation in tourism planning, operation and management, and participation in tourism benefits. The results show that three quarters of respondents in Koh Samet (75.7%) were involved directly in tourism (item 1), compared with just over half of Mae Kam Pong respondents (51.7%). This may result from the fact that each community was at a different stage of tourism development. For example, tourism at Mae Kam Pong only emerged in 2000 while in Koh Samet tourism had been developed for more than twenty years and it was considered at the consolidation stage of development

according to Butler's (1980) Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC), which involves many more local residents.

Generally, each item has a score of between 0 and 1. The scores applied to the five categorical answers are 0, 0.25, 0.5, 0.75, and 1.0, respectively. This scoring system shows how much respondents agree with each statement. Therefore, if the calculated score is 1, this means all respondents agree strongly with the statement whether it is a positive or negative statement. The score of each item can be calculated by multiplying the score for each categorical answer with its percentage of frequency to obtain the community participation score. For example, item 5 in Table 7.1 'I can participate in tourism development' of Mae Kam Pong equals 0.85 which was calculated by $(0*0)+(0.25*0)+(0.50*0.05)+(0.75*0.483)+(1.0*0.467)$.

Table 7.1 Community participation in tourism planning, operation and management, and benefits

Community participation items	Answer (scoring system)	Percentage (%)	
		Koh Samet	Mae Kam Pong
1. Directly involved in tourism	Yes	75.7	51.7
	No	24.3	48.3
2. Skill development	A lot	58.5	74.2
	Some	41.5	25.8
	Not at all	0.0	0.0
3. Household member involved in tourism	Yes	54.0	23.7
	No	46.0	76.3
4. Involving in Tourism planning	Yes	15.7	40.0
	No	84.3	60.0
5. I can participate in tourism development in this community if I want to.	Disagree strongly (0)	1.4	0.0
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	54.3	0.0
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	34.3	5.0
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	1.4	48.3
	Agree strongly (1)	8.6	46.7
	Score	0.40	0.85
6. I feel local people have an influence in decision making about tourism development in this community.	Disagree strongly (0)	15.7	0.0
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	37.1	0.0
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	37.1	0.0
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	10.0	1.7
	Agree strongly (1)	0.0	98.3
	Score	0.35	1.00
7. Tourism in my community doesn't benefit me.	Disagree strongly (1)	20.0	46.7
	Disagree somewhat (0.75)	61.4	21.7
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	11.4	28.3
	Agree somewhat (0.25)	7.1	3.3
	Agree strongly (1)	0.0	0.0
	Score	0.26	0.22

Forty percent of Mae Kam Pong compared to only 15.7 percent at Koh Samet involved in tourism planning. This may be due to the different style and pace of tourism development in each community with Koh Samet having more extensive development and many more actors and stakeholders involved in tourism planning than in Mae Kam Pong including the government agencies (local and central levels), non-resident private enterprises, migrant-owned enterprises, native-owned enterprises and native and migrant workers. At Mae Kam Pong, tourism planning is largely done by locals through the village tourism committee-the local residents' representative.

When considering the degree of participation in tourism development (item 5), it was clear that there were large differences between the two communities. The vast majority of Mae Kam Pong respondents (95 %) agreed that they can participate in tourism development in their community compared with only 10 percent of respondents in Koh Samet. Another obvious difference was in local people's perception of their influence on decision making about tourism development (item 6). In Mae Kam Pong, all respondents agreed with this statement while no respondents in Koh Samet answered 'agree strongly' and only 10 percent answered 'agree somewhat'. However, both communities scored low (Samet= 0.26, Kam Pong= 0.22) in the statement 'tourism in my community does not benefit me'. This result indicates that the majority of respondents in both communities agreed that tourism in their community had benefitted them.

Figure 7.1 presents a chart of community participation and impact scores for the two communities. It illustrates the large differences for several items. For individuals' participation in tourism development, Koh Samet scored 0.40 while Mae Kam Pong scored far higher (0.85). The results were different also for the statement 'locals' influencing tourism decision making', with Mae Kam Pong having an extremely high score of 1.00 while Koh Samet having a relatively low score (0.35) on this statement.

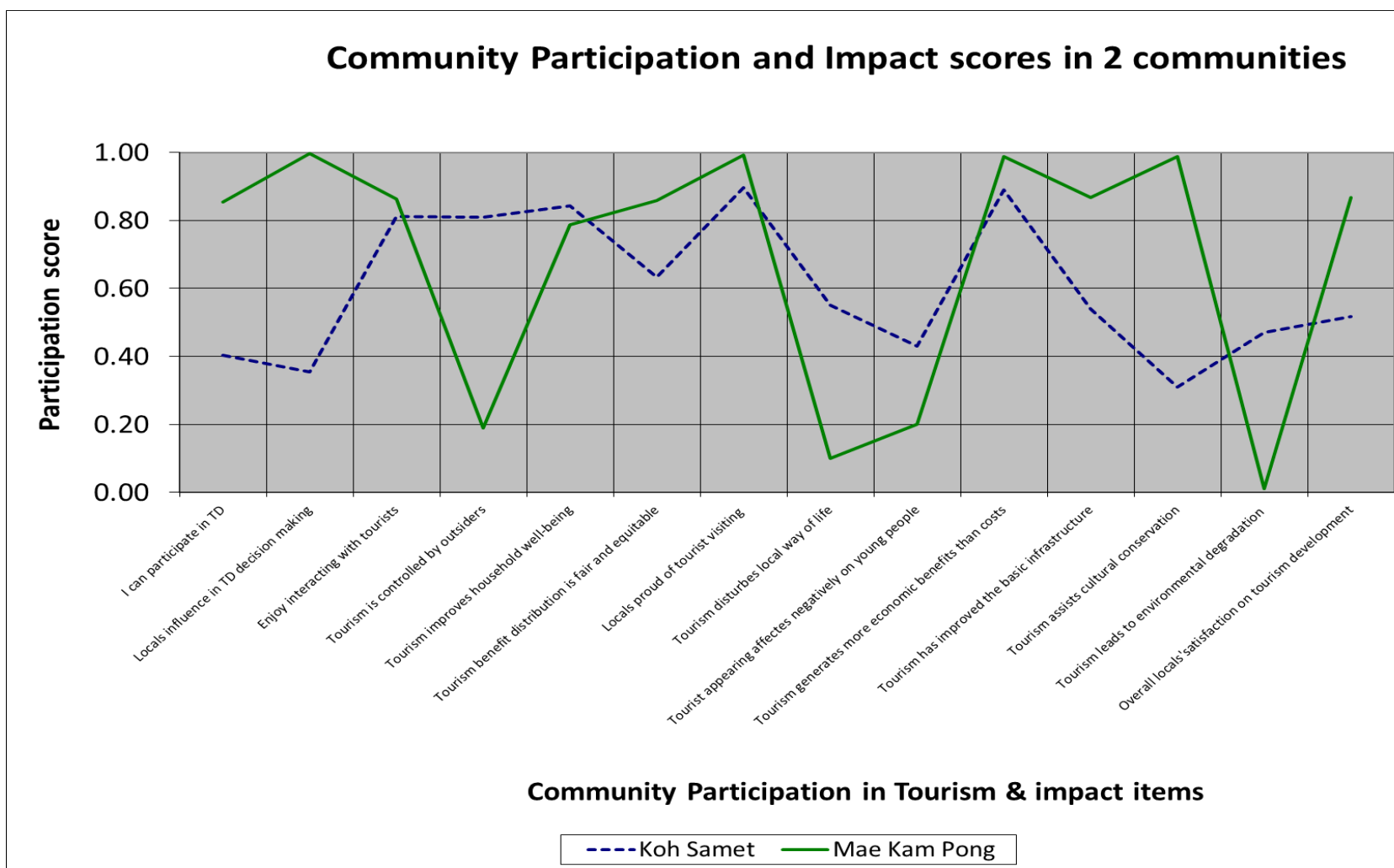


Figure 7.1 Community Participation and tourism impact scores of the two communities

Table 7.2 Respondents' attitude towards tourism development in their communities

Attitude towards tourism development	Scores	
	Koh Samet	Mae Kam Pong
1. Outside operators have too much control over tourism in this community.	0.81	0.19
2. Tourism activities in this community have disturbed our local way of life.	0.45	0.10
3. The presence of tourists is having a negative effect on young people's behaviour.	0.57	0.20
4. Tourism leads to environmental degradation in this area.	0.53	0.01
5. I enjoy interacting with tourists.	0.81	0.86
6. Tourism improves the well-being of my household.	0.84	0.79
7. There is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism in this community.	0.63	0.86
8. I am proud that tourists want to come to my community.	0.90	0.99
9. Tourism generates more economic benefits than costs for my community.	0.89	0.99
10. Tourism has improved the basic infrastructure in my community.	0.54	0.87
11. Tourism assists cultural conservation in this community.	0.31	0.99
12. Overall, I am satisfied with tourism development in this community.	0.52	0.87

In addition, Table 7.2 and Figure 7.1 show the scores relating to tourism impacts. It was clear that tourism in Koh Samet was mainly dominated by outsiders, unlike in Mae Kam Pong where tourism development is still largely in local hands. Koh Samet respondents reported negative tourism impacts at a higher level than their counterparts in Mae Kam Pong with relatively high scores in 'tourism disturbs local way of life', 'tourist appearing affects negatively on young people behaviours' and 'tourism leads to environmental degradation'. The positive impacts of tourism were reported higher from Mae Kam Pong respondents than Koh Samet residents, for example, 'tourism assists cultural conservation' (Mae Kam Pong 0.99, Koh Samet 0.31) and 'tourism has improved basic infrastructure in community' (Mae Kam Pong 0.87, Koh Samet 0.54). In addition, the perception of the fairness and equity of benefit distribution from tourism differed between the communities; respondents in Mae Kam Pong strongly agreed with this statement in their high average score (0.86) whereas respondents in Koh Samet reported a moderate score (0.63). Finally, the overall locals' satisfaction

on tourism development were found to be largely different; Mae Kam Pong residents reported a high score (0.87) while Koh Samet received only a moderate score (0.52).

7.2.2 Social capital score

To present social capital in an easily understandable form, a scoring system was applied to create a social capital score. This concept is largely influenced by Jones' (2005) study, which is considered a justifiable approach in this analysis as it assists to interpret the data simply. The analysed data are presented according to structural and cognitive social capital. The structural social capital includes networks, roles, rules and precedents (Krishna & Shrader, 2000), and the intensity of association links or activity. Generally speaking, structural social capital relates to what people 'do' (Harpham et al., 2002) which is more tangible than cognitive social capital, which relates to what people 'feel' (Harpham et al., 2002), and is comprised of the norms, values, attitudes and beliefs or perceptions of support, reciprocity, sharing and trust (Krishna & Shrader, 2000).

Table 7.3 Structural social capital items of the two communities

Social Capital Items	Answer (Scoring system)	Percentage (%)	
		Koh Samet	Mae Kam Pong
1. The rules and regulations which are set by the village committee are adhered to very well	Disagree strongly (0)	18.6	0.0
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	44.3	0.0
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	28.6	18.3
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	8.6	21.7
	Agree strongly (1)	0.0	60.0
	Score	0.32	0.85
2. Labour exchange in agricultural tasks or one's house building happens often in this village	Disagree strongly (0)	47.1	0.0
	Disagree somewhat (0.25)	37.1	0.0
	Neither agree or disagree (0.5)	10.0	23.3
	Agree somewhat (0.75)	4.3	71.7
	Agree strongly (1)	1.4	5.0
	Score	0.19	0.70
3. Average number of group memberships	(groups)	0.90	3.23
4. Level of group interaction with outsiders	No (0)	25.5	8.3
	Occasionally (0.5)	70.9	88.3
	Frequently (1)	3.6	3.3
	Score	0.39	0.47
5. Number of close friends	(persons)	6.89	7.35
6. Friend visits	(Times per year)	40.84	44.81
7. Number of relatives	(persons)	17.96	42.58
8. Relative visits	(Times per year)	58.18	69.87
9. Outside village visits	(Times per year)	2.81	2.32
10. Socialise with neighbours	(Times per year)	11.41	9.86
11. Temple visits	(Times per year)	7.20	25.07
12. Social event attending	(%)	62.79	89.75
13. Respondent's participating in communal activities	Yes	90.0	100.0
	No	10.0	0.0
14. Average number of participation in communal activities	(Times per year)	6.18	6.38
15. Average meeting attendance	(%)	50.71	88.08

Table 7.3 and Figure 7.2 present the structural social capital of the two communities. There were considerable differences in several items measuring social networks. First, an average number of group memberships of Koh Samet and Mae Kam Pong were 0.90 and 3.23, respectively. However, the degree of interaction with outsiders was found not to be different as most respondents in all communities answered 'occasionally'. The higher number of group memberships in Mae Kam Pong indicated that respondents have a higher number of social networks compared to respondents in Koh Samet. Secondly, an average number of relatives in the community were also found to be different, where Koh Samet = 17 and Mae Kam Pong = 42 persons, respectively. This is likely to be because the majority of respondents in Mae Kam

Pong were born in the village, unlike Koh Samet respondents. The data also showed differences in the norms among the two communities. It was obvious that respondents in Mae Kam Pong adhered to the village's rules and regulations very well (score = 0.85), which was not the case amongst Koh Samet respondents (0.32).

Another large difference was the score of 'Labour exchange' representing the norm of reciprocity in the communities: Mae Kam Pong (0.70) and Koh Samet (0.19). This difference occurs due to the major occupation of residents in Koh Samet is a small business owner whereas agriculture was found only three percent in the survey. Contrast to Mae Kam Pong residents' occupation where 83 percent of respondents are agriculture. Today, Koh Samet residents usually hire labourers to do their labour intensive jobs.

There were some differences in social norms between the two communities. For example, the average number of temple visits for Koh Samet respondents were 7.2 times per year which substantially lower than that reported by Mae Kam Pong respondents (25 times per year). In addition, respondents in Koh Samet were much less likely to attend social events (63%) than Mae Kam Pong respondents (90%). Considering the village meeting attendance, again Koh Samet respondents were much less likely to attend (51%) than respondents in Mae Kam Pong (88%). These differences may be due to Mae Kam Pong still being a rural society where the local way of life remains close to the traditional norms. On the other hand, Koh Samet appears to be more urban society where people are often much busier doing their businesses and have less time to attend religious activities and other community activities.

Figure 7.2 presents a chart of structural social capital scores of the two communities. It shows that overall Mae Kam Pong had higher scores of structural social capital than Koh Samet; some items were substantially different while others were only moderately different. Only the item of 'respondent participation in communal activities' was found to have a very high score (more than 0.90) in both communities.

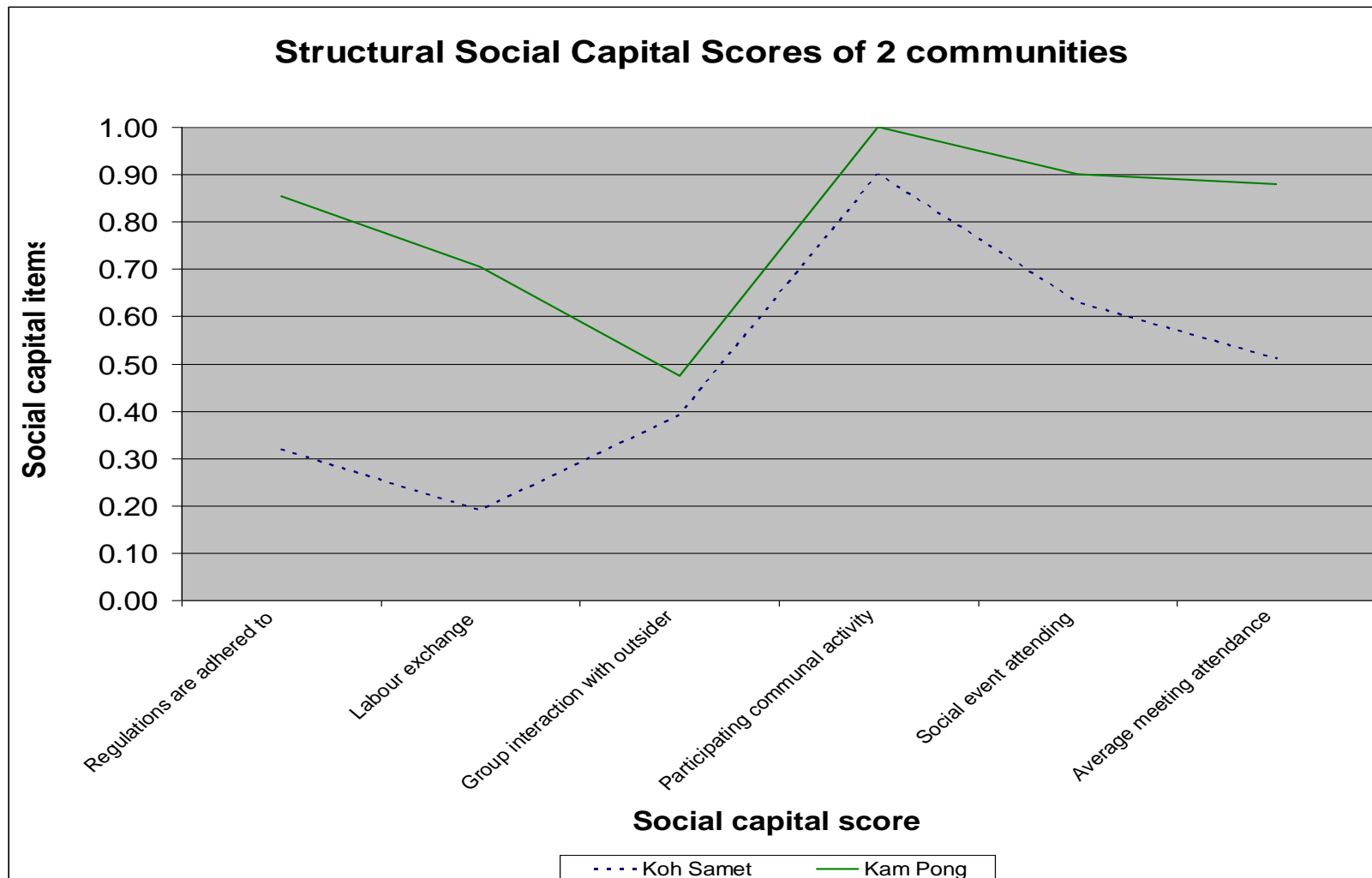


Figure 7.2 Structural Social Capital score of the two communities

Table 7.4 and Figure 7.3 present the cognitive social capital results. Overall, Mae Kam Pong received relatively high scores and Koh Samet gained relatively low scores but inversely for the negative items. For example, for trust among people (item1), Koh Samet score (0.53) was lower than Mae Kam Pong score (0.76). In addition, trust in a community can also be re-investigated by item 3 - ‘someone is likely to take advantage of you’. This result indicated that respondents in Koh Samet felt they had to be much more alert than Mae Kam Pong respondents to the possibility of someone taking advantage.

Table 7.4 Cognitive social capital items of the two communities

Social Capital items	Score	
	Koh Samet	Mae Kam Pong
1. People in this village can be trusted	0.53	0.76
2. People in this village are willing to help in an emergency if you need it	0.64	0.93
3. In this village, one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you.	0.61	0.18
4. I trust government officials from the Tambon Administrative Authority.	0.45	0.80
5. I trust central government officials	0.34	0.86
6. I feel safe from crime and violence when I am alone at home	0.73	0.95
7. I feel I have an influence over decision making in this village	0.31	0.80
8. I feel I have rights to participate or share opinion about community topics/projects	0.45	0.94
9. I feel I know about what is going on in this community	0.79	0.92
10. There is difference between community's members such as differences in economic wealth, social status and ethnicity.	0.94	0.53
11. If you suddenly needed to borrow money, are there people beyond your immediate household and close relatives in this community to whom you could turn and who would be willing to provide this money?	0.60	0.75
12. Time contributed to a community project	0.81	0.93
13. Money contributed to a community project	0.52	0.47
14. Villagers' cooperation for the village problem solving	0.64	1.00

One interesting finding was a large difference of perceived influence on decision making in the villages (item 7); no respondents in Koh Samet agreed that they had an influence on decision making (score= 0.31). By contrast, no respondents in Mae Kam Pong disagreed with the same statement (score=0.80), revealing large differences in perceptions between the two communities regarding their influence over decision making in their village. Similarly, regarding rights to participate (item 8), Mae Kam Pong scored 0.94 while Koh Samet scored 0.45, revealing again a great discrepancy between respondents in the two communities.

Regarding item ‘difference in community’ (item10 of Table 7.4, the full question is ‘Do you think this community has a significant difference between people such as differences in economic wealth, social status and ethnicity?’), Koh Samet respondents scored 0.94 while Mae Kam Pong scored 0.53. This finding suggests that respondents in Mae Kam Pong see their community in a more harmonious light than their Koh Samet counterparts. Another item reflecting community cohesion was villagers’ cooperation with village problem solving (item14 of Table 7.4), with all Mae Kam Pong respondents strongly agreeing with this statement while Koh Samet respondents gave this item a moderate score (score= 0.64). The only item in which Mae Kam Pong gained a lower score than Koh Samet was monetary contribution to community projects (item 13 of Table 7.4), which may reflect the lower level of an average household income in Mae Kam Pong than Koh Samet. Figure 7.3 presents a chart of cognitive social capital of the two communities, which illustrates the large differences between the two communities on several items.

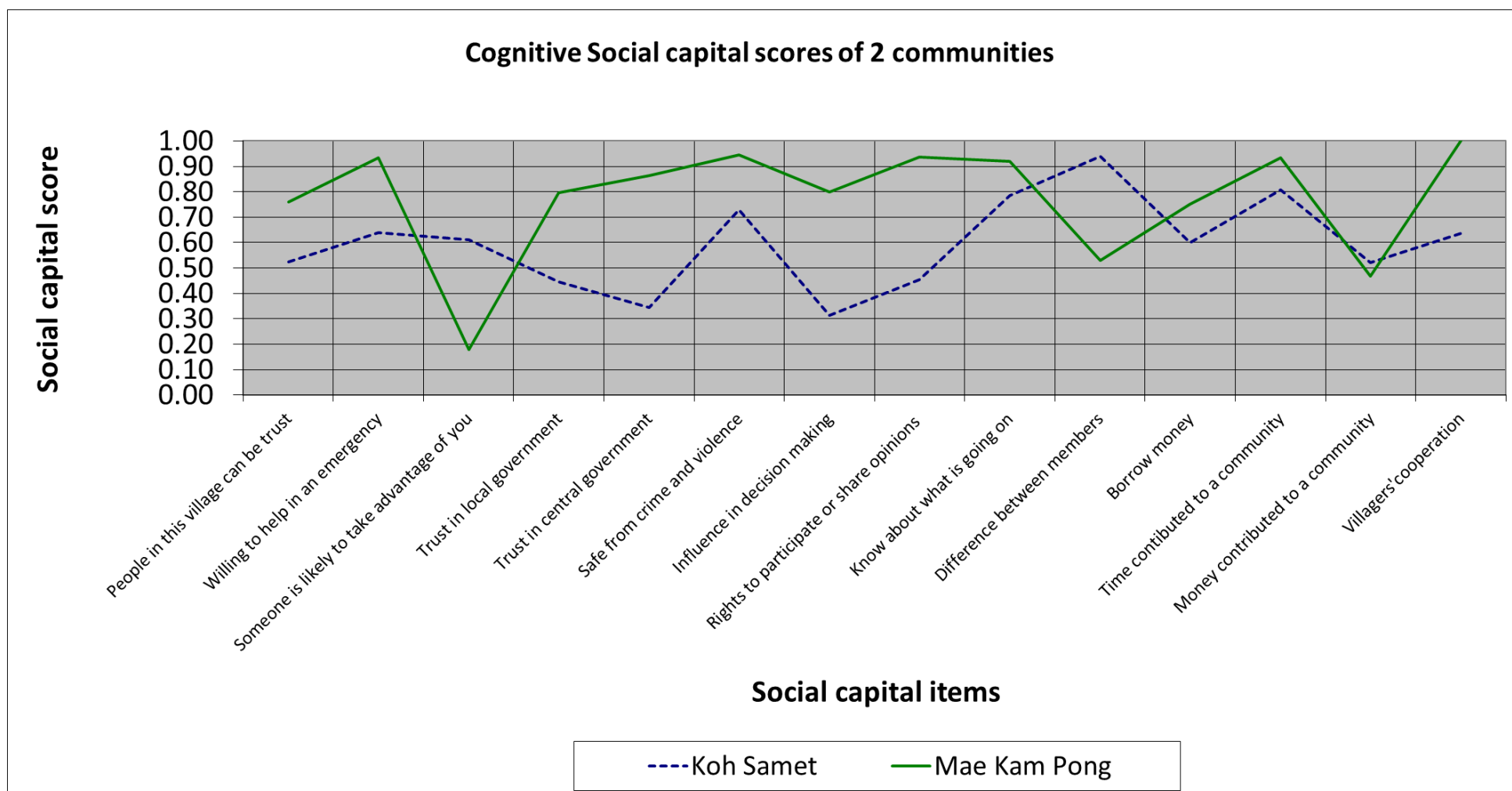


Figure 7.3 Cognitive Social Capital score of the two communitie

This section presents the comparative survey results between the two case study communities. Overall, Mae Kam Pong has presented the higher scores on most of the structural and cognitive social capital, and community participation in tourism development items than Koh Samet while lower scores for the negative statements. The next section explains how the social capital and community participation in tourism development indexes are constructed; both indexes are used to examine how strong is the association between these two variables.

7.3 Constructing Community Participation in Tourism Development and Social Capital Indexes

Social capital cannot be simply measured by only one indicator, it is a multi-faceted concept; so several indicators need to be combined to construct a social capital index. Grootaert and Bartelaer (2002) comment that analysing social capital can be done both in the form of an aggregate index or by analysing social capital variables separately. As the research question is “How does social capital influence community participation in tourism development?”, it was felt to be best to apply an aggregate index approach because the index represents all indicators combining to be social capital in a community. The calculation of a social capital index and a community participation in tourism development index for this research are presented in the following section.

7.3.1 Community Participation in Tourism Development Index (CPinTD Index)

The CPinTD index is accumulated from six components covering participation in tourism development in communities (Table 7.5). In this research, the scope of community participation includes participation in tourism decision making and planning, participation in tourism operation and management, and participation in benefits from tourism as identified in Chapter One, and this is reflected in the first four indicators. The fifth and sixth factors are considered significant consequences or outputs from community participation. As suggested by Mitchell and Eagels (2001), the greater level of community integration in tourism planning and management enhances local socio-economic benefits. Therefore, this research uses two output indicators for reflecting effective participation in tourism development in the community.

Table 7.5 The components of the CPinTD index

	CPinTD components	Sample data from one respondent	Index
Participation in tourism development	1. Directly involved in tourism 2. Participating in tourism development 3. Local people influence decision making in tourism 4. Involved in tourism planning 5. Fair and equitable tourism income distribution 6. Overall satisfaction with tourism development	1 5 4 2 2 4	1.0 1.0 0.80 0 0.40 0.80
	CPinTD Index		4.0*

Note: * $4.0 = 1.0 + 1.0 + 0.80 + 0 + 0.40 + 0.80$

There are two types of data used to construct this index. First was a 5-point Likert scale, in which the raw data were divided by five to make a full score equal to 1.0 (answer ‘5’= 1.0, ‘4’=0.80, ‘3’=0.60, ‘2’=0.40, and ‘1’=0.20). Second was a ‘yes-no’ answer which included ‘Directly involved in tourism’ and ‘Involved in tourism planning’. The raw data were recoded as “yes” = 1 and “no” = 2. Then, this type of data is re-valued which “1 = 1” and “2 = 0”. After that, all recoded data were aggregated to create an additive CPinTD index ranging from 0 - 6 (See example of index calculation in Table 7.5).

7.3.2 Social Capital Index

Based on the literature about social capital indicators, it can be seen that several indicators had been developed in different contexts in order to measure social capital. Social capital cannot be simply measured by only one indicator due to it is a multi-faceted concept in which several indicators need to be combined to construct a social capital index. Therefore in this research, a social capital index was constructed from ten indicators measuring social interactions, social norms and trust in communities (Table 7.6). In Thai society, social capital is related to the principles of reciprocity and communality. For instance, reciprocity is evidenced in labour exchange in farming as well as labour contribution to village public works, while communality principles can be observed in village common property, which all members have access to and benefit from, following specified rules (Ganjanapan, 1998). In addition, Thongyou (2003) proposes that various mechanisms have maintained traditional networks within and across villages. For instance, religious practices in Buddhist Thai society which help maintain people’s connection. To assess social interaction in Thailand, Daniere and her colleagues (2002) use questions asking about how often of chatting and social meeting with people in neighbourhood. In addition, the World Bank (2006) working paper

addressing Thailand social capital evaluation reveals significant indicators to assess social capital for instance, strength of membership, trust among closed neighbour, level of participation in decision making process, degree of cooperation, and sociality. In this research, indexes to assess norms of reciprocity, social networks and trust are selected and adjusted to be relative to the Thai context as shown in Table 7.6.

Based on the above literature and social capital indicators discussed in Chapter Two, this research uses ‘trust among community members’ and ‘someone is likely to take advantage of you’ as indicators to measure trust. Although, there are other questions in the survey asking about trust such as ‘trust in central government’ the researcher decided not to use that because trust in government agencies may be the result of several causes (e.g. the land ownership issue in Koh Samet) which may distort social capital of the community. However, indicators for measuring networks and norms of reciprocity appear to be more objective and easier to measure than indicators measuring trust because they represent social behaviours in a particular community. Item 1 to item 8 are indicators asking respondents about their social behaviours and opinions toward social norms in their community.

Table 7.6 The components of the Social Capital Index

Social capital components	Social capital indicators	Sample data from one respondent	Index
Social networks	1. Group memberships	2*	0.67
	2. Social event attending	80%	0.80
	3. Socialise with neighbours	20*	1.0
Social norms	4. Influence in decision making	3	0.60
	5. Have rights to participate/share opinions	2	0.40
	6. Participating communal activities	12*	1.0
	7. Villagers’ cooperation	1	1.0
	8. Village meeting attending	60%	0.60
Trust	9. Trust among community members	3	0.60
	10. Someone is likely to take advantage of you	2	-0.40
	Aggregated Social Capital Index		6.27**

Note: * This type of data is open-ended answer which are categorised into four classes (0, 1, 2, 3)

** $6.27 = 0.67 + 0.80 + 1.0 + 0.60 + 0.40 + 1.0 + 1.0 + 0.60 + 0.60 + (-0.40)$

These ten items comprised three types of data. The first type was a 5-point Likert scale (range 1-5). Raw data was divided by five in order to make a full score equal to 1.0. The second type was a percentage answer, for example, ‘social event attending’. This type of data was divided by 100 in order to make a full score of 1.0. The last type gave a numeric answer such as

‘group membership number’. This type of data is more complicated than the previous two types. Three items were found in this type including ‘group membership’, ‘socialise with neighbours’ and ‘participation in communal activities’. The open-ended answer (a numeric answer range 0 - ∞) was categorised into four classes (0, 1, 2, 3). Data were grouped depending on its range in each data series. For ‘group membership’, “0” represented the value “0”, “1” represented “1”, “2” represented “2”, and “3” represented “ ≥ 3 ”. For ‘socialise with neighbours’, “0” represented “0”, “1” represented “1-5”, “2” represented “6-10”, and “3” represented “ ≥ 11 ”. For ‘participation in communal activities’, “0” represented the value “0”, “1” represented “1-3”, “2” represented “3.5-6.5”, and “3” represented “ ≥ 7 ”.

This method was designed to manage data types which had no end value. It would have been possible to use the maximum value as the end value and use it to divide the raw data, however in some cases there were outliers that would skew the data (Black, 2008). For example, the data series of ‘socialize with neighbours’ varied from 0 to 104 times per year; however about 72 percent of the sample answered less than 10. According to statistical principles, data ‘104’ could be classified as an outlier. After that, the categorical data was divided by three in order to make a full score equal to 1.0.

Only the item ‘someone is likely to take advantage of you’ was multiplied by (-1) because it reduces a level of social capital in the community. After all types of data were converted, each item had a full score of 1.0. Finally, the last step in constructing the social capital index was accumulating all items together and creating a series data set of social capital index of all 130 data in which scores ranged from 0 to 8.8 (See example of social index calculation in Table 7.6). The maximum value of social capital index is 8.8 because the aggregated value of item 1 to item 9 is 9.0 and this value will be reduced by item 10 (a negative value) which has the minimum value of -0.20 (if the respondent answer ‘1’ from a 5 point Likert scale).

Descriptive Statistics of the social capital (SC) index and CPinTD index are illustrated in Table 7.7. The mean of the social capital index was 5.3217 (full score = 8.8), which was very close to its median (5.4500) while having a higher mode value (7.20). The skewness value of SC index was “-.230” showing that the data had a little negatively skewed distribution. Conversely, the CPinTD index has a higher mean and median, which were 3.8569 and 3.6000, respectively (full score = 6.0) while its mode was found to be lower (3.20). The skewness value was “0.681” which meant that the CPinTD index has a positive skewed distribution. The standard deviation of the social capital index was 1.53593 which is slightly higher than the standard deviation of CPinTD index. This showed that the SC index data was a little more distributed than the CPinTD index data. These values describe what the data sets

look like; if the two sets of data have many differences, it is likely that both data sets may have a low level of correlation.

Table 7.7 Descriptive Statistics of Social Capital Index and CPinTD Index

Item	Social capital index	CPinTD index
Mean	5.3217	3.8569
Median	5.4500	3.6000
Mode	7.20	3.20
Standard Deviation	1.53593	1.11236
Skewness	-0.230	0.681
Min	1.60	1.80
Max	8.13	6.00
Range	6.53	4.20
Number of samples	130	130

7.4 The Association between Social Capital and Community Participation in Tourism Development

One of the main objectives in this research has been to explore how social capital influenced community participation in tourism development. Thus bivariate relationships between the social capital and CPinTD indexes were assessed. Correlation coefficient is a statistical tool used for measuring the strength of association between two variables. The correlation coefficient (r) cannot lie outside the range between $+1$ and -1 ; when $r = +1$, it represents perfect positive correlation, inversely when $r = -1$, it represents perfect negative correlation and if $r = 0$, there is no correlation at all between the two variables (Rowntree, 2004). Figure 7.4 displays the correlation between social capital index and CPinTD index in the form of a scatter plot diagram. It clearly illustrates a positive relationship between social capital index and CPinTD index.

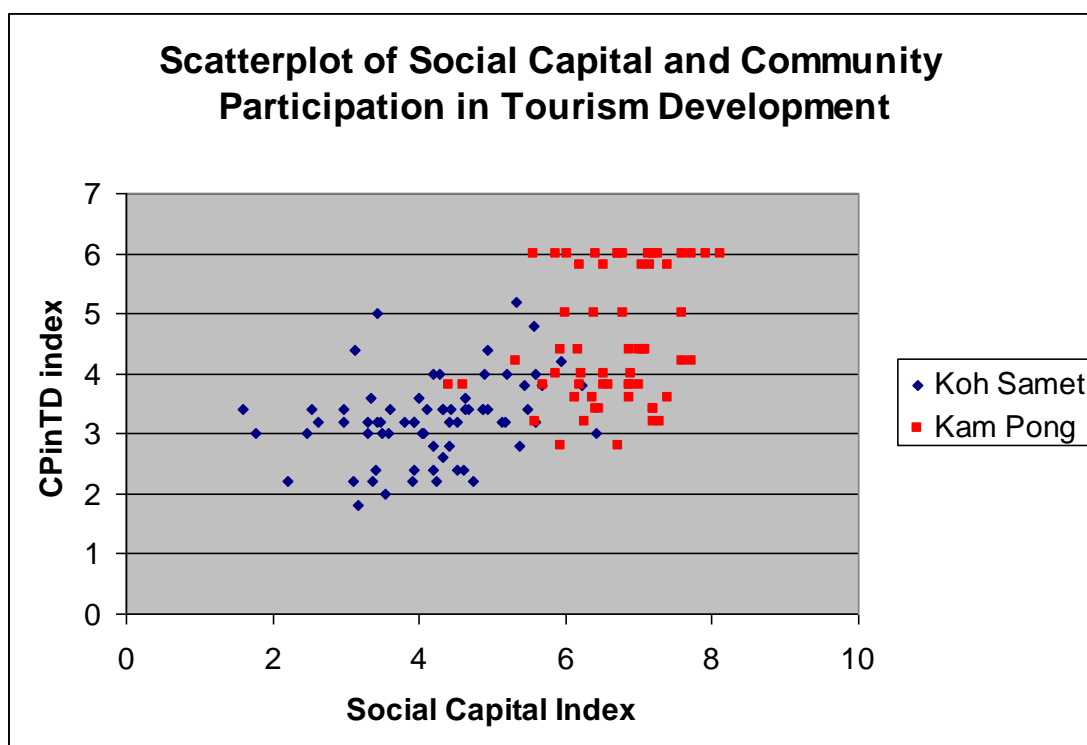


Figure 7.4 Scatterplot of social capital and community participation of all samples

Before selecting an appropriate type of correlation coefficient, checking the normality of the distribution of both datasets was very important because it affected the choice of correlation method. Therefore, the two sets of data were tested to see whether they had a normal distribution or not. The results in Table 7.8 showed that the social capital indexes of both communities were normally distributed ($p\text{-value} = 0.291$) while the CPinTD indexes of both communities were not normally distributed ($p\text{-value} = 0.005$).

Table 7.8 Tests of Normality of CPinTD index and Social Capital index

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a		
	Statistic	N	Sig.
CPinTD Index	1.724	130	0.005
Social Capital Index	0.981	130	0.291

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

These sets of data did not meet the underlying assumption for using parametric statistics (for example, assumptions about the normality of data distribution (Rowntree, 2004) and data must be at least recorded at an interval scale (Black, 2008)). Consequently, the Spearman's coefficient of rank correlation (a non-parametric measure of statistical dependence between two variables) was considered a more appropriate measure than the Pearson's Product Moment correlation coefficient. Spearman's coefficient of rank correlation is a non-parametric

formula which is used when measured values do not exist, especially when data scale are ordinal (Rowntree, 2004).

The results of the correlative analysis between community participation index and social capital index are presented in Table 7.9. The social capital index was significantly and positively associated with the CPinTD index in which the correlation (r) was 0.643 (p -value < 0.01). This finding indicated that *social capital index was significantly and positively associated with community participation in tourism development (CPinTD) index*. This statistical test helped to reinforce the conclusion of the association between social capital and community participation in tourism development outlined in Chapters Five and Six.

Table 7.9 Correlation coefficient between Social capital Index and CPinTD index

			Social Capital Index	CPinTD Index
Spearman's rho	Social Capital Index	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	0.643**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.000
		N	130	130
	CPinTD Index	Correlation Coefficient	0.643**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	.
		N	130	130

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Although the result shows that community with high social capital tends to achieve a high level of community participation in tourism development it may not be possible to conclude that social capital is the only factor influencing community participation. In this research, the selected case study communities have different types of tourism development and are at different Butler's stages of development; therefore, the types and the stages of tourism development may have influence also on community participation besides the social capital. These two themes are discussed in Chapter Eight.

7.5 Conclusion

From the analysis of the comparison of social capital and CPinTD scores between the two communities, overall Mae Kam Pong gained higher scores than Koh Samet (and gained lower scores for the negative statements) whether in structural, cognitive social capital or community participation in tourism development. The quantitative findings have reinforced the qualitative findings outlined in Chapters Five and Six which concluded that Mae Kam Pong was a community with a higher level of social capital than Koh Samet. Similarly, the

results show relatively low scores of community participation in tourism development at Koh Samet which is consistent with the analysis from surveys, interviews and observations that local residents there seemed to have little participation in tourism planning and decision making, compared with local residents in Mae Kam Pong. The analysis of correlation between social capital index and CPinTD index from 130 data from the household survey in the two communities reveals that social capital is significantly and positively associated with community participation in tourism development ($r = 0.643$). The following chapter discusses key issues about community participation in tourism development and the influence of social capital on community participation in the Thai context.

Chapter 8

Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses all significant findings from this research. First, forms of community participation in tourism decision making, operation and management, and receiving benefits are discussed based on the theoretical frameworks outlined in Chapter Two. Three main themes are discussed to explain community participation in tourism development. The first theme is the role of social capital in facilitating community participation in tourism development. In this research, social capital and community participation in the case study communities were assessed using both quantitative and qualitative research tools; the analysis reveals some clear indications of how social capital influences community participation in tourism development. The second theme examines the levels of community participation of the two communities which are at different stages of tourism development. The analysis reveals interesting insights about how community participation changes when tourism development expands. The last theme discusses community participation in different types of tourism development: mass tourism and community-based tourism. Although this research employed social capital as a central idea to explore community participation, other factors influencing community participation in tourism development are also discussed in the last section of this chapter.

8.2 Forms of community participation in tourism development

8.2.1 Community participation in tourism planning and decision making

In the assessment of community participation in tourism planning and decision making, this research employed Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation as a research framework. From exploring the two case study communities in Thailand, three levels of participation were evidenced; 'Informing', 'Delegated power' and 'Citizen Control' (Figure 8.1).

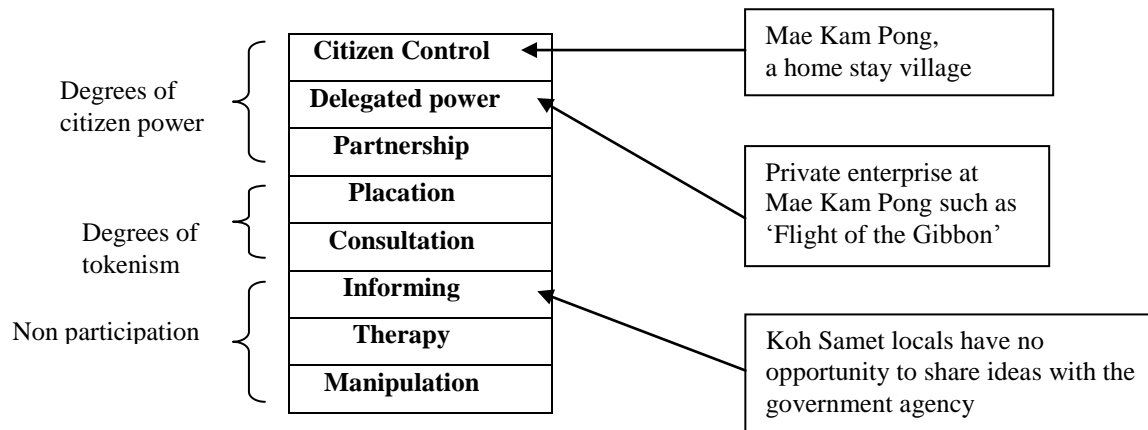


Figure 8.1 Community participation in tourism decision making in Mae Kam Pong and Koh Samet

Source: Adapted from Arnstein (1969)

The analysis of qualitative and quantitative results indicates that residents at Koh Samet appear to participate at the informing rung - a non-participation degree in Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation. For example, despite the fact that local people had the opportunity to participate in a workshop to develop a strategic plan for participatory garbage management of Koh Samet in 2007, their needs and concerns had not been responded to at the time of fieldwork (September 2008); nor was progress made in following the plan. Opinions from local people were presented and discussed only on paper but not implemented in practice. The survey results supported the conclusion that Koh Samet had low levels of community participation in tourism decision making and that tourism development was dominated by public and private organisations. Local residents at Koh Samet seem to have weaker power than the non-resident investors; this is supported by the survey result revealing that 85 percent of the respondents felt that outside operators have too much control over tourism in this community. For example, locals were losing their right to access the public beaches which were occupied by a five star resort owned by a non-resident investor and local souvenir shops owners were competing with the hawkers from the mainland. This finding reflects Berger's (1996) idea that with external control, community cohesion and cooperation are eroded, and practices, such as unhealthy competition and individualism.

In addition, a top-down planning approach remains in use both at the national and local levels. The residents may have a chance to attend a public hearing for a DASTA project or PTAA meetings, but their role is expected to be as listener rather than speaker. Therefore, the residents did not have any share in decision-making processes. It may have been this lack of genuine community participation that led to residents' mobilisation and successful protests over some development projects. For example, the DASTA project which targeted high-end tourists in order to gain higher yield while producing less impacts failed to address local people and no solutions were provided for locals' livelihoods (see Chapter 5). Overall,

community participation at Koh Samet seemed to occur in an aggressive form such as protests from the opposing interest groups through the mass media. This is supported by the finding that respondents were only moderately satisfied overall with tourism development in Koh Samet.

By contrast, community participation in community-based tourism in Mae Kam Pong appears to be at the highest level of the ladder 'Citizen Control' because tourism was initiated and operated by the community; although the community received advice from outside institutions the decision making remained totally in local hands in the form of a village committee. This body seemed to act as a genuine representative of the community and had - with broad community support and participation, full charge of tourism policies and managerial aspects in the village. Findings from the survey strongly supported the fact that at Mae Kam Pong, local people felt they had significant influence in tourism development decision making.

However, the same level of citizen participation is not apparent in the tourism developed by external investors at this community. The VTC was able to negotiate with outsider investors, to some extent, about complying with the village rules and regulations. For example, the Flight of the Gibbon operator had to negotiate with the village committee in order to be approved to commence its business at this community. The survey result appears to support this argument; Mae Kam Pong gained a very low score on the issue 'outside operators have too much control over tourism'. Therefore, the community still perceive that they have power to influence the outside investors. Participation like this may be considered at the 'delegated power' rung on Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation because local people have a strong voice to make agreements with external tour operators, even if only through their community representatives.

While the VTC seems to have control over tourism enterprises in the community this is not entirely the case; a resort owned by migrant residents refused to pay 100 baht per guest per night to the village fund. This indicates that tourism development at Mae Kam Pong may begin changing and the local community may face more and more difficulties to control outside or migrant tour operators.

8.2.2 Community participation in tourism operation and management

Ashley and Roe's (1998) typology was employed as a research framework to illustrate community participation in tourism operation and management. This model proposes three types of community participation in tourism operation: individuals (people involved directly

in tourism), community institutions and leadership, and all community members (whether directly involved in tourism or not) (see Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 Typology of Community Participation in Tourism operation and management of the case study communities

	Passive involvement	Active involvement	Full participation
Individuals	Local people fill jobs and sell resources <i>Samet, Kam Pong</i>	Enterprises run by local entrepreneurs <i>Samet, Kam Pong</i>	Network of local industries supplying majority of goods and services <i>None</i>
Community Institutions	Receive collective income, e.g. given by private operators as donation or to comply with regulation <i>Samet, Kam Pong</i>	Earn income, e.g. lease resources Give approval for planning decisions <i>Kam Pong</i>	Decide what to earn and how Have a decisive say in planning decisions Collectively manage common resources <i>Kam Pong</i>
All Community Members	Learn of community decisions <i>Kam Pong</i>	Receive shares of community Are consulted on community decisions <i>Kam Pong</i>	Participate in decisions on resource-use, revenue, and conflicts <i>Kam Pong</i>

Source: Adapted from Ashley and Roe, 1998

Note: Bold italic print indicates a great amount of evidence was observed

Italic print indicates some evidence was observed

Community-based tourism activities at Mae Kam Pong were operated under the supervision of MKPREC, therefore, the villagers were highly involved in tourism operation. According to Ashley and Roe's (1998) model, when considering the case study of Ban Mae Kam Pong, it is clear that the involvement of individuals was apparent at an active involvement level; for example, providing home stay service, being local guides, performing traditional music and dance, and providing a massage service. Furthermore, some villagers also participated at a passive involvement level, and gained benefit by being employees, leasing land and houses, and receiving a contract with a tour company to provide lunches for tourists.

Regarding the involvement of community institutions in this model, it was found that participation occurred at all levels - passive, active and full participation. At Mae Kam Pong, a community institution (the VTC) played an important role in tourism operation and management. This village also managed common resources collectively through the mechanism of the village committee. Consequently, the village received collective income from a tour company and a resort as a donation to the village fund every year. Moreover, the

majority of tourism businesses seemed to comply with most village rules and regulations, for example, the 'no karaoke' rule and the agreement on tree planting in the area. As a consequence, this village had a concrete model of tourism income distribution (See Table 6.11).

Regarding the involvement of all community members, it can be seen that Mae Kam Pong villagers participate at the highest level - full participation. It can be seen that every household in this village has shares in MKPREC and receives income in the form of dividends. In addition, all community members have right and opportunities to participate in decisions about resource-use and conflicts in their area.

The residents at Koh Samet participate in tourism operation and management widely at the 'individual' and 'active involvement' levels regarding Ashley and Roe's (1998) model. Many residents had their own small and medium businesses including bungalow and guest house services, restaurants, souvenir shops, grocery shops, marine tour operators, motorcycle rental businesses, water sport services and water supply providers to resorts and bungalows; almost 70 percent of the surveyed respondents are small business owners. Nowadays, most residents on Koh Samet could become local entrepreneurs because tourism in Koh Samet had been developed for almost thirty years with increasing numbers of tourists so they had gained sufficient capital to invest in their own businesses. Some local residents were observed participating in tourism at the 'passive involvement' level, which means being employed in tourism businesses, as taxi drivers, boat drivers, and employees of resorts and a few residents also sold their fish to tourists and some restaurants.

The findings in Table 8.1 show that at the individual level, both case studies achieved participation at the 'passive involvement' and 'active involvement' but no evidence was found at 'full participation' in this level. When considered at the community institution level, Mae Kam Pong was achieving 'passive involvement', 'active involvement' and 'full participation' by having an active community organization (the VTC) to manage community-based tourism while Koh Samet achieved only 'passive involvement' because its community organisation (SCCNO) had little power to influence tourism development in this community. At the level of all community members, only Mae Kam Pong was evidenced in all three types of participation.

This research reveals the important role of community institutions in facilitating community participation in tourism development in Thailand; a situation that has been found elsewhere (e.g. Ying & Zhou, 2007, see details in Chapter 2). This finding also confirms Tosun's (2005)

suggestion that it is essential for communities to establish local institutions in order to defend, protect and reflect the concerns and interests of local people for effective community participation. According to Reed (1997), a lack of institutions supporting tourism may allow conventional power holders in the community to retain their influence in key decisions for tourism development in the community. Similarly, Tosun (2005) suggests that there is a need for a mechanism to obtain a genuine community representative who addresses community interests rather than personal interests otherwise tourism development could be in the hands of a few people, the powerful local elite, who could shape and direct the organs of local government and participation for their own benefit.

The findings from this research reinforce Reed's (1997) and Tosun's (2005) views. A strong community institution may help break the elite domination on tourism development. To explain the term 'strong community institution', it is useful to address Wang and Wall's (2005) argument that the community institution's responsibilities and authorities should be fragmented and no-one should have overall responsibility for implementation of the decisions. Such a situation may encourage a more transparent administration system. Mae Kam Pong exemplifies a strong community institution where authorities were distributed rather than aggregated enabling a transparent administrative system.

8.2.3 Community participation in tourism benefits

This research classifies benefits from tourism into two categories: economic and non-economic benefits. The non-economic benefits include social, cultural and environmental benefits. The analysis from the two case study communities show that the economic benefits appear to occur widely for the local residents who are directly involved in tourism operations but only in the form of individual economic benefit. However, there seems to be a different opinion about the benefit distribution; the respondents felt that benefits from tourism were largely distributed fairly and equitably in Mae Kam Pong but less so in Koh Samet.

There are also differences in the collective economic benefits received, such as public infrastructure improvement. Mae Kam Pong, which has a high level of community participation in tourism decision making, had generated many more collective economic benefits to the whole community (e.g. free interest loans and dividends from tourism operations), while tourism in Koh Samet generated less collective economic benefits to the community. This outcome may relate to the low level of community participation in tourism decision making in this community. These results support the argument of Wang and Wall

(2005), that community participation is a tool for balancing power in decision making and to spreading the benefits from development projects.

In addition, the analysis of findings shows that Mae Kam Pong residents have received greater non-economic benefits from tourism than residents in Koh Samet, for example, the better environmental surrounding, and stronger personal empowerment for local people, including 'psychological empowerment' through interaction with tourists and pride in local culture, and 'political empowerment' by influencing community-based tourism development through their representatives, the VTC.

These findings suggest that the level of community participation in tourism decision making has a substantial influence on the equitable distribution of tourism benefits. This finding is consistent with a study of community integration in tourism in Peru by Mitchell and Eagels (2001) who stated that a greater level of community integration in tourism planning and management enhanced local socio-economic benefits. Similarly, Pongponrat and Pongquan (2008) state that community participation allowed the benefits from tourism to be distributed more widely among community members.

The major conclusion drawn from this section is the higher level of community participation in tourism planning and decision making seems to have led to more equitable benefit distribution in the community, and also shaped the forms and the style of tourism development to harmonise with local ways of life and local environment. An interesting question here was "What is fostering a high level of community participation?" This research focuses on social capital as a central concept to investigate the different levels of community participation in tourism development.

8.3 The influence of social capital on community participation in tourism development

To understand community participation in the Thai context, this research sought to answer the question "How does social capital influence community participation in tourism planning and management?" This research developed a social capital index and a community participation in tourism development (CPinTD) index. Furthermore, correlation analysis to measure the strength of association between social capital index and CPinTD index revealed that social capital index was significantly and positively associated with community participation in tourism development index ($r = 0.643$ with $P < 0.01$, see Chapter 7).

This correlation shows the strength of the two-way relationships between two variables. Therefore, this finding reveals that social capital and community participation have a high

positive relationship with each other. This conclusion is strongly supported by qualitative analysis; Mae Kam Pong appears to be a community with a high level of social capital; trust among local residents, a strong norm of participating in communal activities and social networks both within the community and with the external organisations. This is not the case in Koh Samet. These social capital components substantially supported effective community participation in tourism planning, operation and benefits. Local residents at Mae Kam Pong have high levels of participation and have strong voice influencing tourism decision making in their community. The findings from this research are consistent with Narayan and his colleagues (2000) who stated that a lack of social capital restricted participation. Similarly, the findings from this research also confirm Jones' (2005) finding that social capital was instrumental in the development of an ecotourism camp. Coria and Calfucura (2011) conclude that lack of social capital within the community is one of major causes of ecotourism failing.

Although, this research has illustrated clearly that social capital has highly influenced community participation in tourism development, however, other factors influencing community participation are also stressed. Social capital is one of the significant factors influencing community participation but social capital alone may not be sufficient to foster effective community participation in tourism development in developing countries, particularly participation in decision making. If social capital insufficiently addresses power, inequality and exclusion (Jones, 2005) then this research suggests that power relations and cultural factors appear to have a strong influence on community participation in decision making level. Figure 8.2 illustrates the diagram of the social capital components, power relations and cultural factors and their influence on community participation. This diagram depicts that the different components of social capital play different roles in different forms of community participation in tourism.

Participation in decision making

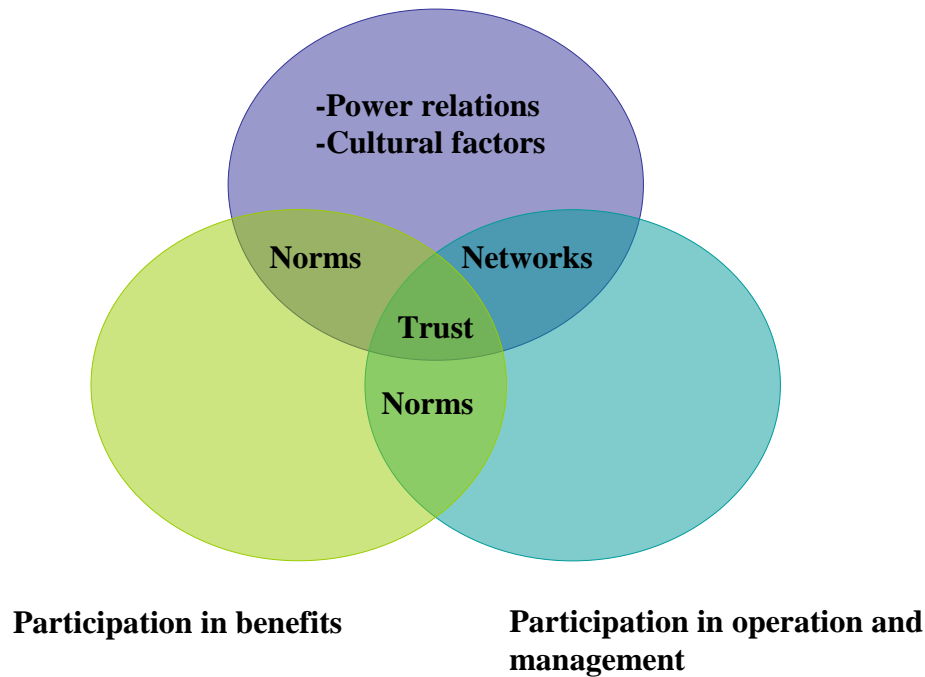


Figure 8.2 The influences of social capital, power relations and cultural factors on community participation in tourism development

This research argues that trust was a fundamental foundation to generate norms and networks in communities. Findings from analysis of the case studies reflected that trust appeared to be the most significant component of social capital that greatly facilitated effective community participation in tourism development. Trust was essential to enable people to operate in tourism following the collective agreement. In a community where people trust their leader, they believe that their leader will manage everything fairly for the entire community not for personal benefits. An example of trust between community institutions and people was the village tourism committee (VTC) at Mae Kam Pong. This genuine representative committee treated everybody in the village fairly and equally based on a collective agreement which helped to strengthen the villagers' belief and trust in the VTC. Consequently, tourism operation was operated in an orderly manner under the VTC's supervision.

Without trust between tourism stakeholders (such as between community residents and institutions and the private sector or between the community and government sector), it is very difficult to create strong community's norms and effective networks of collective management for the whole community. Koh Samet has demonstrated a community where local residents have a low level of trust whether among native residents or between native and migrant residents resulting in a low level of cooperation from migrant residents on SCCNO's garbage management. Norms and networks generated without a firm base of trust may not be sustainable.

‘Trust’ and ‘norms’ appear to play an important role in encouraging community participation in benefits from tourism. A community with a high norm of reciprocity tends to have a high level of community participation in tourism benefits, particularly collective benefits. The survey results revealed two indicators supporting a strong norm of reciprocity: ‘high willingness to help other people’ and ‘high time contributing to the community’. Arguably, a community with a strong norm of contributing to collective actions generates collective benefits that will be returned to its members.

For participation in tourism operation and management, networks appeared to be another significant factor alongside trust and norms. Due to the fact that rural communities often lack knowledge, skills and ability to attract potential tourists, they need to establish networks with outsiders to fulfil what they have missed (Ashley & Roe, 1998). Social networks within a community both formal and informal or bonding social capital (Jones, 2005) are evidenced in Mae Kam Pong: these networks allow public opinions be circulated and delivered to the tourism leader (VTC) more efficiently and also allow knowledge and skills to be transferred easily among members.

Regarding community participation in decision making, besides social capital two other outstanding factors, power relations and cultural factors, are identified as important. The next section discusses a model of factors enabling community participation in tourism development (Figure 8.3) to present key success factors and impediments to community participation in tourism development. This model presents four categories of factors: social; political; cultural and economic, influencing community participation in tourism development in the context of developing countries.

8.4 Factors enabling community participation in tourism development in Thailand

As this research has found, community participation is strongly correlated with social capital, but is high social capital sufficient to ensure community participation in tourism development? DeFilippis (2001) argues that social capital fails to address issues of power and is divorced from economic capital and consequently, it can be argued, social capital alone may not ensure community participation. This research extends Midgeley’s (1986b) notion and DeFilippis’s (2001) comments on social capital, by proposing a model integrating four categories of factors influencing community participation: the social, political, cultural and economic factors (Figure 8.3).

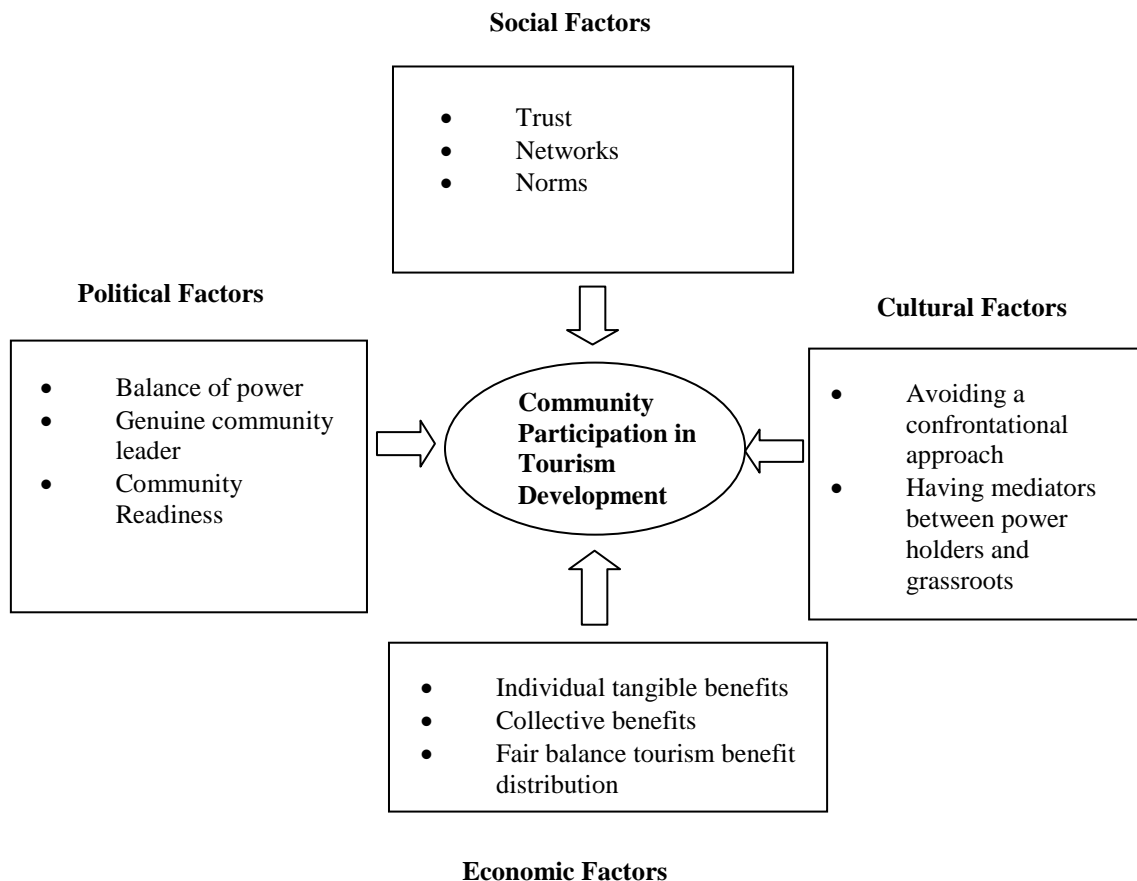


Figure 8.3 A model of factors enabling community participation in tourism development

To start with social factors, this research has focused on the social capital concept; each social capital component - trust, norms, and networks- has an influence on community participation in tourism development. Mae Kam Pong has demonstrated a high level of trust among local residents as reported in survey response; local people gave a high level of cooperation to obey the village tourism rules and regulations because they trusted their leader and believed that under the management of their leader, tourism would benefit local residents as well as their community. This finding is consistent with Putnam (1993) who suggests that the greater the level of trust within a community the greater the likelihood of cooperation. By contrast, Koh Samet exemplified a community with a low level of trust among local residents as reported in survey responses; conflict and uncertainty regarding land ownership problem in this community has split the native residents into two groups: the renting and non-renting groups, which have a low level of trust between them. Consequently, Koh Samet seemed to have low levels of social capital and community participation in tourism decision making.

Village norms also greatly influence community participation in tourism development. For example, a traditional norm at Mae Kam Pong is that people are expected to participate in village development activities; although currently the village has enough money for hiring

workers, this village still maintains its traditional norms. In survey responses, all respondents reported that they continue to support this norm by participating in communal activities. Consequently, the villagers cooperate in tourism development activities by obeying the village tourism rules and regulations; this creates a hospitality atmosphere which largely supports tourism industry. This finding supports suggestions made by Pretty and Ward (2001) that trust and reciprocity lubricate cooperation and build confidence to invest in collective or group activities.

Networks, the last component of social capital, also have greatly influenced community participation in tourism development. Networks with external organisations or bridging social capital may assist in terms of tourism training, tourism marketing and collaboration to fulfil what the community was lacking. Lack of support and/or collaboration from government authorities reflects a very weak network between local people and the authorities; this is one major impediment to community participation in tourism development (Tosun, 2005). In other words, when a community becomes factional, networks within the community or bonding social capital becomes weaker and leads to lower social capital and community participation in tourism decision making as evidenced in Koh Samet, where there were more migrants than native residents and they did not know each other.

Moving to political factors, imbalanced power relations between power holders (both from outside and from within a community) and ordinary residents appears to be a major impediment to community participation. Power is not often evenly distributed within a community and some groups or individuals may have the ability to exert greater influence over the tourism planning process than others (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). The high degree of local control and participation does not always ensure the success and sustainability of the development scheme or the wider distribution of benefits (Mowfort & Munt, 2009). It may be due to local power relationships within the community being as factional as broader players, such as national governments, INGOs and supranational institutions (Mowfort & Munt, 2009). This argument is supported by Jamal and Getz (1995, p.190) who remark that “power imbalances and legitimacy issues related to the stakeholders can inhibit both the initiation and success of collaboration.” An example evidenced from this research is imbalanced power between local residents and government authorities, and between residents and non-resident investors in Koh Samet, for example local residents losing rights to access public beaches, local souvenir sale dropping due to the presence of hawkers from mainland, the SCCNO’s difficulty in collecting the garbage fee from migrant residents, and the government’s non response to a request for approval of a trilateral committee for garbage management. These

research findings are consistent with Reed (1997) who argues that in the real world, it is unlikely that agencies such as municipal governments will be neutral conveners of power.

On-going imbalanced power in a community may develop into a patronage system whereby a powerful person is likely to give people help or important jobs in return for their loyalty. While the situation in Mae Kam Pong is currently relatively balanced in terms of power sharing, there is some evidence of a patronage system emerging, whereby recent benefits from tourism seen to be disproportionately acquired by the VTC president and his family. This circumstance often occurs in the developing world. Tosun (2005) asserts that strong and widespread client relationships between political and bureaucratic patrons and entrepreneur and developer clients in developing countries impede the emergence of a democratic political culture and the establishment of mechanisms for local community participation. Without any intervention, this network may develop 'bad' social capital in the community with negative implications, such as is seen in the strength of mafia groups (Jones et al., 2009). Siamwalla (2001) argued that there are different negative forms of social capital in Thailand which lead to social inequality; one example is a patron-client relationships.

Another important political factor that encourages community participation is having a genuine local leader to motivate community members to participate continuously. Particularly in Inner Asian societies, leadership of groups is an important structuring principle (Humphrey & Sneath, 1999). Any given tourism development plan or project requires an influential and widely accepted leader who has a high commitment to the task and can act as an effective coordinator among the villagers to politically drive such a tourism plan or project.

Mae Kam Pong's tourism leader- the VTC president- appears to be a participative or democratic leader who often encourages and assists group discussion and decision in all policies (Lewin et al., 1939). According to Reid, Mair, George and Taylor (2001), a good leader often displays the ability to listen to others and is able to orchestrate the views of many into a single concept which helps progress the plan. The lack of a genuine and active leader to carry on tourism development activities in the community may be a particularly important barrier to effective tourism development in developing countries (Aref & Redzuan, 2008).

The last political factor is the issue of community readiness. Not every community can achieve the highest level in participation because different communities may have different levels of readiness for participation. Theoretically, increased community participation requires more political and administrative decentralization but, in the developing world, it is not easy for central government to delegate its various powers to local authorities, which may not be

ready to take on the responsibilities (Tosun, 2005). Community readiness is evidenced in the case of Mae Kam Pong; a great number of discussions and trainings occurred in order to get everything well prepared before starting tourism operation, for example, physical tourism resources improvement, readiness of the villagers (building the proper understanding of what is going to happen and how they should behave), and establishing a local authority to manage tourism. The elite problem may be another example of a lack of readiness in the community where its members may not be ready for the entire management and control over community-based tourism yet; this is a situation found in many communities in Thailand (Kanthamaturapoj, 2005).

The conclusion drawn here is that community participation can occur at different levels in different forms in each community partially dependent on how ready they are; tourism developers may play different roles to facilitate community participation in tourism development. These may vary from a 'leading role' or 'initiator' to a 'facilitator role' or 'supporter' depending on each community's readiness. This conclusion is consistent with Wisansing's (2004) study which concluded that one of the main difficulties in implementing a community approach to tourism planning and marketing was the readiness of the different parties involved, including the local people. This finding is also consistent with Kaosa-ard (2004) who suggests that development projects should be conducted in the communities where they have shown readiness. The communities that are not ready may need mentors to work with them. She also concludes that providing projects without screening the community's readiness may damage their existing social capital.

Regarding cultural factors, it is crucial to understand people and their culture before approaching or dealing with them. Findings from this research reflect the fact that cultural factors seem to be another significant factor influencing community participation in developing countries. According to Thai culture, particularly in rural society, a respect for elders and those of higher status appears to be strong (Kislenko, 2004). Villagers generally do not dare to express their opinions or even ask questions, especially the young people whose role is expected to be a 'listener' rather than a 'speaker' (Leksakundilok, 2004). This culture, which Kumar (2002) calls a 'culture of silence', is found also in many other developing countries where people do not feel comfortable to express their opinions or share ideas in public. This issue is exacerbated by the Thai people's emphasis on maintaining social order and avoiding confrontation (Kislenko, 2004; Wisansing, 2004). Generally, Thai people believe that social harmony is best maintained by avoiding any unnecessary friction in their contacts with others resulting in the strong feeling of "Kreng Chai" which means an extreme

reluctance to impose on anyone or disturb another's personal equilibrium by direct criticism, challenge or confrontation (Kislenko, 2004; Mahidol University, 2002). This Thai characteristic is also in evidence in Mae Kam Pong but the VTC president seems to recognise this and modified the method of participation to be in a form of group brain storming rather than individual participation.

In addition, findings from Mae Kam Pong suggest that arranging linkage persons (informal sub-group leaders) between local ordinary residents and their leader may be an appropriate strategy to narrow the gap between them. The linkage persons play an important role by assessing and checking opinion and feedback from the villagers in each village cluster. These linkage persons are important because they are perceived as 'villagers' not 'leaders', who have equal social status with other villagers. Consequently, the villagers feel more comfortable and open to complain or to talk with them. Therefore this might be one useful strategy in assisting to capture the real opinions, feedback, or, even, suspicions from local residents, which in the Thai cultural context, normally occurs beyond the meeting room.

Regarding the economic components, individual benefits are crucial to motivate grassroots people in the developing world to participate. Individual tangible benefits might be an un-substitutable ingredient of any tourism development programme in rural areas, particularly in developing countries which have a high proportion of poor people (Berends, 2009; Kaosa-ard, 2004; Oakley, 1991; Wisansing, 2004). Scheyvens (2002, p. 54) argues that "A concern for livelihoods should be integral to development efforts, based on the recognition that local people need to benefit from the existence of natural resources in their area...". As indicated by the survey results, both communities gained high scores on the issue of tourism improving the respondent's household's well-being due to the increase of individual income from tourism. This finding is reinforced with the two community leaders' interviews stressing that an individual benefit was very important to attract poorer people to participate in tourism activities. This finding is also consistent with the study of social capital, networks, and community environments in Thailand which revealed that increases in income were positively associated with increases in community participation (Daniere et al., 2002). Developers and policy makers may need to understand the context of the poor people who sometimes cannot sacrifice their working time to participate in tourism development. To encourage local people to participate, it is essential to link the idea of 'creating individual benefit' into the participation motivation strategies because, for local people, particularly the poor, their basic survival for everyday living is always their first priority.

Another important economic issue that should not be overlooked is the significance of collective benefits. Although collective benefits may be less attractive in gaining interest from the poor, it is significant for the improvement of overall community well-being, such as establishing a village welfare fund and public facility improvement. Wang, Yang, Chen, Yang and Li (2010) suggest that one aspect for ideal community participation is to establish a means of equitable benefits distribution. These may be in the form of the reduction of the payment made directly to individuals to increase funds from tourism to carry out public education, tourism training, and medical insurance and poverty alleviation in the whole community. Mae Kam Pong appears to be a model case study in community-based tourism operation as it has established a balance between individual and collective benefits that is widely acceptable to all community members.

The balance between individual and collective benefits from tourism seems to be a significant issue to be considered when developing tourism at a community as it helps to prevent social inequity which is one of the twelve aims of sustainable tourism development (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005). The unequal distribution of benefits from ecotourism can occur both between locals and other stakeholders (such as hotels and restaurants) and among the locals themselves; and it can be lessened by enhancing local participation and increasing the use of local goods (He, et al. (2008). Scheyvens (1999) argues that ecotourism should only be considered successful if local communities have some measures of control and share equitably in the benefits; conflicts attributed to tourism may occur if there is a lack of a mechanism for equitable benefit distribution. Inequitable distribution of tourism benefits within the community does not only discourage participation but may also create or exacerbate divisions, and result in damage to social and cultural systems thus undermining people's overall quality of life (Coria & Calfucura, 2011; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995).

Overall, this model (Figure 8.3) has presented factors that enabled community participation in tourism development from two case studies in Thailand. Tourism practitioners, whether in government sectors, tourism entrepreneurs or local communities, should keep in mind that to enable effective community participation in tourism development, it is necessary to be concerned with all social, political, cultural and economic aspects of a community which are different from community to community. This model highlights the factors enabling community participation in tourism development. However, all these factors are the outcomes of the analysis of findings from fieldwork at a certain time. At this time, the two communities used as case studies in this research were at different stages of tourism development. These

factors may vary over time, thus, the application of this model for other communities may require consideration of what stages of tourism development are they.

Mae Kam Pong and Koh Samet are at different stages of tourism development and have different levels of social capital and community participation. Therefore, whether the stages of tourism development are related to the levels of social capital and community participation is of particular interest.

8.5 Stages of tourism development and Community participation

This research provides interesting findings about community participation in tourism development from two communities at the different stages of tourism development in Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle model (TALC). Mae Kam Pong, an emerging destination, is at the 'involvement' stage and most tourism operations are operated by locals. There is relatively little tourism infrastructure and the number of tourists is still low, thereby limiting negative tourism impacts in this community. Thus local people have a positive attitude towards tourists and a willingness to participate in tourism activities in their community. The community achieved high levels of community participation in all aspects of tourism development (tourism decision making, operation and management, and receiving benefits). In terms of the control of development, local people under the management of the VTC appear to have important role in tourism development. For example, Flight of the Gibbons has to receive an approval from the VTC before commencing business in this community and making a contract of annual payment to the village fund and some involved local residents.

How does Mae Kam Pong - a small community in which tourism has just emerged -succeed in sustainable tourism development? Empirical analysis suggests that it depends largely upon community participation from the early stages of the decision making process which, in this case, happened before tourism activities in the community started. The entire village took part in making the decision "Should the village be opened for tourism?" They discussed intensively the pros and cons of tourism development including the benefits which could be gained from tourism and who the beneficiaries would be. This research argues that the participation of local people at the initial stage of tourism development helps greatly in shaping the direction of tourism development and encouraging benefits from tourism going to the community as well as to individuals.

Tourism development at Koh Samet is considered to be at the 'consolidation' stage of Butler's TALC because tourism has grown rapidly, causing high tourist densities and severe negative tourism impacts. Many non-resident and migrant residents are involved in tourism

operation and interactions between visitors and local residents seemed to be more commercialized. Tensions have arisen both between tourists and local residents and between native and migrant residents due to negative tourism impacts such as garbage and overcrowding resulting from a greater number of tourists and the migrant workforce. The survey revealed the attitude towards tourism impacts of Koh Samet respondents who felt that tourism was causing environmental degradation and disturbing the local way of life. These negative impacts together with a lack of a proper tourism management plan reflect that Koh Samet has reached, or perhaps surpassed, its carrying capacity (Takengsung, 2003). This circumstance was largely due to tourism's expansion that involved many more tourism stakeholders particularly, large and powerful investors who were superior to the local entrepreneurs in terms of financial resource, tourism skills and knowledge as well as the ability to access potential tourists. The problem of imbalanced power became severe among several interest groups, with investors (migrants and non-migrants) overtime developing a stronger voice than native residents. In Koh Samet, more than half of all residents are migrants; this situation seems to have diluted social capital in this community.

Butler's TALC (1980) and Keller (1987) suggest that local involvement and control of tourism developments tends to decline when tourism at the destination is more developed to the later stages. At the exploration or involvement stage when tourism is just emerging, there are insufficient facilities for tourists, so sharing facilities and contacts with local people is inevitably high. At this stage most tourism operations remain operated by locals and control over tourism is still in local hands. Findings from this research appear to be consistent with Butler's (1980) and Keller's (1987) observations, whereby a high level of cooperation among villagers is likely to be achieved when people participate at the initial stages of tourism development and control the nature of development, but that this participation declines as tourism development expands. However, the fieldwork for this research offers only a snapshot at one period of time; it cannot explore the changing nature of community participation in tourism development as tourism expands.

The major conclusion from this section is that changes to the nature of tourism might lead to reduced community power and certainly community participation. Once a destination's tourism industry has grown and produced significant tourism revenue, it often attracts many more tourism actors into communities. At this stage, it seems much more difficult for local people to take a leading role in tourism development or even be treated as equal stakeholders with other powerful stakeholders. At this point, the role of community institutions (e.g. MKPREC or the VTC) is particularly important as they can act as community representatives

having a strong voice influencing the direction of tourism development. Without a strong community institution, it was unlikely that local people's voices on decision making in tourism development plans or projects would be heard. As Keller (1987, p. 27) suggests:

Success in maintaining control over the decision making process and keeping tourism development within the capacity of local resources depends on functioning and powerful peripheral [local] tourism organisations... such an organisation would require strong leadership, sound judgement, and access to capital to grant financial incentives to local entrepreneurs.

Keller (1987) argues that to maintain control over tourism development, peripheral (or local) governing authorities should resist potential pressures and incentives from outside investors to participate in the development; or at least have the ability to ensure that local representatives hold a controlling majority on the boards of outside investment projects.

Although, Mae Kam Pong has had a strong community institution since the inception of tourism development, continued growth of tourism, particularly involving outside investors, might affect the role and actions of the community institution. Pressure is already becoming apparent, with a few outside investors flouting community rules. More pressure may occur as tourism develops further, such as the pressure from outside investors' offering benefits to local authorities and/or local powerful individuals. This is already evident in an outside investor giving a monopoly contract to the president of the VTC which has resulted in some local people voicing concern about inequitable distribution of benefits. This suggests that Mae Kam Pong is perhaps approaching the end of the 'involvement' stage, perhaps moving towards the 'development' stage in TALC. It is anticipated that any further rise in suspiciousness amongst local residents about the community leader's motives may lead to a reduction of trust – a major component of social capital - and lead to a lower level of community participation eventually.

Findings in the above paragraph suggest that even when there is considerable community control and participation at the early stage of development it appears as though there is a point at which a capturing of a disproportionate share of the benefits by a minority precipitates the development of inequalities. Future monitoring of tourism development in Mae Kam Pong is therefore warranted in the future to ensure the balance of power between local people and their leaders. This suggestion is consistent with Murdoch and Abram (1998)'s work which argues that there should be a control or limit on community-based; communities should be linked into some forms of coordination and mediation to enable the balance of power, otherwise local control might result in elite domination.

8.6 Types of tourism development and community participation

Another critical perspective comes up within this research is that types of tourism development (e.g. small-scale tourism and mass tourism) may enable different opportunities for local communities to participate in tourism development. In terms of host-guest interaction, the nature of mass tourism appears to affect those interactions to be less social but more commercialised (Aramberri, 2001). As observed in Koh Samet, large numbers of tourists attracts large scale tourism developers into the community; this situation has put pressure on local entrepreneurs to compete with external investors who are more powerful in terms of skills and capital. Without any regulations to control and its strong enforcement, mass tourism can develop with no direction and produce substantial negative impacts to the area. This research argues that a destination where mass tourism is developed, community participation may be limited to only tourism operation and receiving individual economic benefits. Participation in tourism planning is unlikely to be achieved as observed in Koh Samet case study. In this circumstance, government authorities might play a mediator or coordinator role between the community's residents and external investors to enable a compromised solution of tourism development which is sustainable for each party.

On the other hand, small-scale community-based tourism is based on its professed capacity to meet conservation aims whilst providing benefits for communities (Butcher, 2003). The core concept of community-based tourism means that tourism ventures in which members of local communities have a high degree of control over tourism activities taking place, and a significant proportion of the economic benefits remain in their hands (Scheyvens, 2002). Local control and involvement in the decision making process is an important issue in community-based tourism (Butcher, 2003), and is possible due to the scale of the tourism. This type of tourism development, as observed in the Mae Kam Pong case study, seems to facilitate a higher level of community participation whether in tourism planning, operation and management or tourism benefits sharing. It can be seen that the nature of home stay tourism activities offers broad opportunities for local residents to be involved and receive benefits from tourism as community-based tourism requires little capital and less complicated skills. In addition, the tourists' type which interested in local value and learning new experience enables a high level of host-guest interaction which helps to increase local pride and strengthen psychological empowerment of this community. At Mae Kam Pong local residents have influence in tourism planning or decision making through their representative- the VTC- which has an important role in control over tourism development in the community while tourism remains small scale and mainly operated by local residents. However, as

observed from fieldwork one external tour operator began operating in the community and has brought some changes to tourism development in this community. The community institution may face more difficulty in controlling an external tour operator, particularly when benefits are offered to influence person(s) in the community, so that the local community and community institution may gradually lose control over tourism development in the area.

Re-structuring public administration systems and new legislation may be necessary in order to give an opportunity for local people to participate more in tourism development, particularly when the destination is began to develop to be mass tourism. This research certainly agrees Honggang, Sofield and Jigang's (2008) suggestion that to achieve political empowerment, the local people's rights to tourism development opportunities and the right to choose their development should be guaranteed and protected by law. In addition, the suggestion made by Poirier (1997) that there is a need for re-structuring public administration systems and local governments to be a source of democratic community participation to operationalize a more participatory tourism development strategy in developing countries, appears to be an important condition facilitating community participation in tourism development.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the research's key findings from the analysis of two case study communities in Thailand. This research demonstrates the examples of communities with high and low levels of community participation in tourism development. Social capital appears to be one significant factor facilitating community participation in tourism development.

However, this research reveals other factors to be concerned to enable genuine community participation. This research certainly agrees with Tosun's (2000) idea that community participation involves different ideological beliefs, political forces, administrative arrangements, and redistribution of wealth and power. This research proposes a model of factors enabling community participation in tourism development derived from the real case study communities in Thailand, in order to offer a guideline for tourism developers and practitioners to achieve genuine community participation, particularly in developing countries. Another key finding from this research is that community participation is likely to be achieved when people participate at the initial stages of tourism development, but this participation may decline as tourism development expands. This finding suggests the need for an on-going monitoring process of community participation to ensure that local people still have voice in influencing tourism development in their communities. Lastly, types of tourism development also affect the levels and forms of community participation. Arguably,

community participation may be less apparent in communities where mass tourism exists than in places with community-based tourism.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

Community participation is widely accepted as an important ingredient to achieve sustainable tourism development. However, to achieve genuine community participation is not a simple matter; it involves different ideological beliefs, political forces, administrative arrangements, and re-distribution of wealth and power which seems to be difficult to be achieved in developing countries (Tosun, 2005). This research employed the concept of social capital to explore community participation in tourism development in two case study communities in Thailand. Social capital is widely used in many fields of development at a community level such as public health and poverty reduction programmes but quite limited used in the field of tourism. The main research question is “How does social capital influence community participation in tourism development in Thailand?” Three research objectives were established to attempt to answer this question.

9.2 Research contributions

The first research objective is to examine forms and levels of participation in tourism planning and management. Based on the two case study communities, this research argues that the higher level of community participation in tourism planning and decision making led to the more equitable benefit distribution in the community, and also shaped the forms and styles of tourism development to be harmonised with local ways of life and local environment. Only one case study community was evidenced having a high level of community participation in tourism decision making. However, community participation in tourism operation and management seemed to be widely evidenced in both cases resulting in a high level of individual economic benefits. Lack of local people’s participation in tourism planning and decision making affects tourism development to be developed unsustainably causing severe negative tourism impacts as well as low level of collective benefits to be used for community development.

It is important to search for effective means and strategies leading to the achievement of genuine community participation. The second research objective is established to explore the role of social capital in facilitating community participation in tourism development. Social capital and community participation were assessed by the household questionnaire together

with interviews and observations. Correlation analysis reveals that social capital was significantly and positively associated with community participation. It is argued that communities with a higher level of social capital are more likely to participate in tourism development, or whether participation in tourism development results in the maintenance of high social capital. This research also clearly suggests that social capital including trust, norms and networks, has great contribution to assist community participation in tourism development as presented in Figure 8.2.

However, although social capital creates an environment fostering community participation this research suggests another important argument that social capital alone is not sufficient to achieve genuine community participation in tourism development in developing countries. Regarding the third research objective which aims to determine the impediments and key success factors to enhancing community participation in tourism planning and management, this research reveals other significant factors enabling community participation in tourism development as presented in Figure 8.3. For example, power relations appear to be another significant factor which can both support or impede community participation alongside the social capital.

Another key theme drawn from the analysis of community participation of the two communities which were at different stages of tourism development, is that community participation is likely to be achieved when people participate at the initial stages of tourism development, but this participation declines as tourism development expands. This may be due to the fact that there are many more powerful stakeholders when tourism expands; this situation is more difficult for local people to remain in control over or have influence on tourism development. This findings suggest that the role of tourism developers to encourage community participation should be different regarding the different stages of tourism development in each community; for example, at the initial stage tourism developers should act as ‘mentors’ but when tourism at the community develops to the involvement or development stages, the more appropriate role of tourism developers could be ‘facilitators’ or ‘collaborators’. In addition, strategies to strengthen or empower local people should be made a first priority to assist them to engage more in tourism development. Otherwise local people may be the weakest group, not be treated as equal stakeholders with other powerful stakeholders and, eventually, may only participate as unskilled/low wage labourers in the tourism industry.

Besides the difficulty from more powerful stakeholders, the growing of tourism industry at the destination itself may also enable changes and conflicts amongst the local people; the

continued growing of tourism, particularly involving outside investors, might affect the role and actions of the community institutions or leaders, especially when they are offered incentives by outside investors. There seems to be a great need of an on-going monitoring process of community participation to ensure that local people still have voice influencing tourism development in their communities.

In addition, this research argues that community participation may occur at different levels and forms at the destinations where different types and scales of tourism is developed. As observed in Koh Samet where tourism is a form of mass tourism, community participation seems to occur primarily in tourism operation resulting in individual residents gaining higher income from tourism. However, very limited community participation in this community occurs in tourism decision making and planning. This is because the nature of mass tourism which often attracts external investors to invest and reap most of benefits from tourism while paying less attention on host community and its environment. Once outside capital investment flows into the community, it is much more difficult for the local community to participate in and have influence on tourism development. Without support from government authorities, it is unlikely that the local community can be seen as an equal stakeholder to the powerful investors. This research strongly agrees with Keller's (1987) suggestion that to maintain local influence on tourism development may require not only a strategy to strengthening community institutions but also a need for policy reforms in regard to tourism development that reflects more concerns and interests of local people and strengthens local people's capability to be an equal partner in tourism development decision making.

Furthermore, this research suggests two points of theoretical concern generated through applying Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation in the two Thai communities. First, this research affirmed the usefulness of this model in providing a typology to help characterise the level of participation in particular tourism projects or activities or locations; but as the level could be quite different in relation to each type of tourism development (e.g. community-based tourism or private tour operators at Mae Kam Pong), it was not necessarily useful to characterise the overall level of community participation for a whole community or industry sector.

Second, Arnstein's (1969) model suggests that community participation should move up to a higher level on the citizen participation ladder according to democratic principles. In practice, it might not be necessary to always push every community to reach the highest rung. Each rung of Arnstein's model can be viewed as a different type of citizen participation that may fit with the communities' characteristics and readiness. Tosun (2006) and Timothy (1999)

suggest that public participation in tourism development can take place in many forms depending on place-specific conditions, such as the cultural attributes of the community and its decision making traditions and that these may affect the community's desired level of participation. Interestingly, Murdoch and Abram (1998) present the opposite idea of the general principle of community participation; they argue that there should be a limit of community governance (control); communities should be linked into some forms of coordination and mediation to enable the balance of power, otherwise local control might result in elite domination or a lack of transparency in a community which is not immune from corruption, if the communities are not yet ready to control and manage their tourism development entirely (see also Tosun, 2005). My research supports these findings with both communities being on different rungs, but more significantly, within a single small community the same sector, tourism, may have quite different levels of participation.

A community may have a level of social capital at present, but this does not determine their will be a consistent outcome in terms of community participation in decision making. This is demonstrated by the findings of high social capital in Mae Kam Pong, but two different levels of participation. This may be due to the particular type of activity and associated financial capital requirements or social distance from everyday lifestyle of the village. One rung of Arnstein (1969)'s ladder, such as citizen control, may fit with one community but may not fit with another community or it may not fit with one community today but it may fit with after ten years. Generally speaking, this research suggests that to better understand and apply Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation in community participation in tourism development, a community's readiness to participate and the community's social, cultural and political attributes should be centrally addressed.

9.3 Recommendations for future research

According to the major findings of this study, two future research interests are suggested to extend an understanding of community participation in tourism development in developing countries. First, a longitudinal study is considered appropriate to be conducted in order to assess levels of community participation and the role of social capital in a particular community from the time when tourism is introduced to its later development and expansion. Mae Kam Pong might be one potential example for conducting further longitudinal study after this research; a great amount of analysis is already existed in the current study when Mae Kam Pong tourism was at the involvement stage. The results could explain more about how community participation changes in the later stages of tourism development, and the role of social capital in shaping this transition. A longitudinal study may also allow tourism

researchers to identify different strategies which could be used to facilitate community participation at each stage of tourism development.

Second, further research to explore the role of ‘other’ forms of capital (e.g. political and cultural capital) on community participation in tourism development is recommended, as this current research has suggested that power relations and cultural factors seemed to have influence on community participation in tourism development in developing countries. This further research could enable the better understanding how political and cultural capital can facilitate local people participation. It is important to note that power relations should be viewed through the concept of political capital (Macbeth et al., 2004) separated from the social capital concept. Although social capital could assist political capital in a community, this statement is not always true because a community with a high level of social capital may not mean power within that community is distributed equally. Suggestions made by Macbeth and his colleagues (2004) might be a good start. There are different types of resources that give communities ‘power’, for example, natural resources, money, knowledge and even social capital.

9.4 Concluding Remarks

It is important to enable genuine community participation because local people’s participation is one of important conditions leading to sustainable tourism development. Local people are a part of a destination; they live there and their resources are shared by tourism industry. Thus if local people are not happy with tourism development (e.g. they do not benefit from tourism or tourism produces negative impacts that affect them), it is unlikely that this development will be sustainable. This research suggests three main arguments to enable better understanding of community participation in tourism development in a Thai context; first, social capital has an important role fostering community participation in tourism development. Therefore, tourism practitioners and developers may have to emphasise implementing strategies to increase or strengthen social capital in a community in order to foster an environment that enable local people to participate fully and equally in tourism development in their community. For example, re-establishing or reinforcing trust between local people and other stakeholders (e.g. establishing collective tourism development projects), creating or strengthening social norms in a community (e.g. arranging a community big cleaning day) and building networks between local people and external organisations.

Although one community may have succeeded in community participation in tourism development today, how will it be maintain in the future? This research second argument is

that community participation is likely to be achieved when people participate at the initial stages of tourism development, but this participation declines as tourism development expands. Therefore, strategies to empower local people are vitally needed to strengthen local people's power to continue their meaningful participation, for example, supporting local people to own and operate tourism businesses and community enterprises which can help empower them as decision-makers (Smith, 1998) and establish a counter power against external investors and/or local elites (Tosun, 2005). In addition, this research suggests that there is a great need of an ongoing monitoring process of community participation to ensure a balance of power within the community so that grassroots people remain having an effective voice influencing tourism development in their communities.

The last argument is that types of tourism development also affect community participation. In fact, particularly in developing countries, locals' capabilities are limited, so if more local community participation is sought, it must be determined what type of tourism development will fit local people both in terms of their capabilities and the received benefits. Logically, one of the best ways to know what appropriate type of tourism development is to have discussions with the local people in order to gain an understanding of type and style of tourism should be developed that is compatible with the local people's capability, generates minimal effect on local natural and cultural resources, and eventually leads to sustainable tourism development.

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Appendix A

Interview Guide

Community participation and Social capital in tourism planning and management in a Thai context

Questions for interview-community leaders and members

- General background of case studies and interviewees
 - your role in this community, particularly in relation to tourism development
 - History of occupation
 - Motivations to participate
 - How tourism developed in this community
 - Tourism resources (both natural & cultural) in this area
 - The role of the community in tourism
 - The role of tourism in the community
- What do people want from tourism in this community?
 - The main goals of tourism development in this community
 - Any other goals or objectives
 - How are these goals being achieved at a practical/operational level?
- How do local people participate in tourism decision-making?
 - Community meetings/assemblies
 - How often?
 - Who participates?
 - Are tourism issues discussed?
 - Other forms of participation beyond the community meeting
 - Tourism planning (both formal/informal)
 - How do they develop that plan?
 - How do local people participate in tourism planning?
 - Have the villagers initiated any tourism projects or created new ideas for tourism activities? If yes, please give examples. (New ideas in tourism activities created by local people)
 - How successfully are the tourism rules & regulations set by the village committee implemented in practice?
 - To what extent do you think that community participation is necessary for sustainable tourism development?
- The practices of community involvement in tourism business
 - How do the villagers participate/ get involved in tourism activities in the community?
 - Does this community establish networks with outsiders to support tourism development in the community? If yes, please give more details.
 - Do the inside networks assist community participation in tourism development? If yes, how?

- Tourism impacts and solutions
 - What are the tourism impacts that you are aware of in the community? (positive and negative)
 - Economic
 - Social and cultural
 - Environmental
 - How much are the villagers aware of positive and negative impacts? (more positive, more negative or equal)
 - What are the possible solutions to solve these negative impacts (consider both inside and outside community solutions)?
 - What are the needs of cooperation/assistance from other stakeholders to support in marketing, management, and environmental protection activities to enrich tourism development in the community?
 - How does tourism development affect you? (positive and negative)
- Effective participation in tourism development: Barriers and key success factors
 - Barriers to enhancing community participation in tourism development
 - The key factors for successful effective participation in tourism planning and management

Questions for interview-local/central government and NGOs (if any)

- The roles and responsibilities of this organization in supporting and promoting tourism development in this community
- How is this organization involved in tourism development in this community in practice?
 - How long has it been involved and how much does it costs (in terms of resources: time, people, money, good will and personal energy)?
 - Tourism planning
 - Supporting tourism industry
 - Dealing with problems created by the industry
 - Monitoring and controlling tour operators
- The positive and negative tourism impacts
 - Economic
 - Social and cultural
 - Environmental
- Has your organization ever received any complaints or requests for solving problems associated with tourism in this community?
 - How have these been addressed?
 - How would you handle a complaint? What steps would be taken and who would be involved?
- Are there any national/local policies to support community-based tourism development?
- Are there any rules, regulations and codes of conduct to control tour operators and tourists in this local area? If yes, please describe. And how are these established? What do they cover?
 - Carrying capacity
 - Protected area
 - Visiting period
- Did your organization ever have a meeting with local people and discuss about tourism issues in the community? If yes, please give more details.

- The barriers to community participation in tourism development
- The possible solutions to overcome these barriers
- To what extent do you think that community participation is necessary for sustainable tourism development?
- In your opinion, are there any limitations that obstruct local people who want to be involved in tourism decisions?

Questions for interview-tour operators

- History of operator in the community
- Who owns this business?
- How long has this business been established?
- What is the nature of your business?
- Who set it up?
- How did it get started?
- Why do people come to this village? What do they want to see and do when they get here?
- Who are your customers? Where are they from?
- How many local people does your business employ? Please identify their positions in your business.
- How are the villagers involved in your business besides being employed?
 - Supply local products
 - Provide a consultation about locality/local wisdom
- How is your business involved in community activities and developments?
- The positive and negative tourism impacts to this community
 - Economic
 - Social and cultural
 - Environmental
- In what ways does your business benefit to the community?
- In your opinion, are there any limitations that obstruct local people who want to be involved in tourism businesses?
- In your opinion, are there any problems associated with tourism development in this community? If yes, please explain.
- Does your business get any support from government agencies and /or NGOs? If yes, Give more details.

Appendix B

Questionnaire

Date: _____	Time: _____	Community: 1 2	
		Street _____	
(For researcher use only)		Household ID: _____	

1. Did your parents live in this village when you were born?
1. Yes
 2. No, Please tell me how long have you lived in this village: _____ Years
(Go to question 3)

2. Have you lived in this village for your whole life?
1. Yes
 2. No, please tell me the periods that you have lived here:

3. How many people live in this household?

Adults: _____ (≥ 15 year old)	Children: _____ (< 15 year old)
----------------------------------	------------------------------------

Below are a number of statements, I would like you to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each. (Show card 1 will be presented)

	1 Disagree strongly 2 Disagree somewhat 3 Neither agree or disagree 4 Agree somewhat 5 Agree strongly				
4. People in this village can be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5
5. People in this village are willing to help in an emergency if you need it.	1	2	3	4	5
6. In this village, one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I trust government officials from the Tambon Administrative Authority.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I trust central government officials.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Labour exchange in agricultural tasks or one's house building happens often in this village.	1	2	3	4	5
10. The rules and regulations which are set by the village committee are adhered to very well.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I feel safe from crime and violence when I am alone at home.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I feel I have an influence in decision making in this village.	1	2	3	4	5

13. I feel I have rights to participate or share opinion about community topics/projects.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I feel I know about what is going on in this community.	1	2	3	4	5

In the following questions, I would like to ask about the groups or organizations, networks, and associations to which you or any members of your household belong. These could be formally organized groups or just groups of people who get together regularly to do an activity or talk about things. To be classified as a group, it should have at least 5 members. Some examples of groups include occupational groups, saving groups, religious or spiritual groups, recreational groups, and volunteer groups.

15. A) Of how many such groups are you personally a member? Please name them.

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____
- 4) _____

(Use attached paper if necessary)

B) Thinking about other adult members of this household, what groups do they belong to? Please name them.

Household member # 2

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____
- 4) _____

(for additional members see back page)

(If the answer both in 15A and B are none, then go to question 18)

16. Of all these groups to which you or members of your household belong, which one in your view is the most important to your household? Why?

The most important group is: _____
Why? _____

17. Does this group work with or interact with groups outside the village?

1. No
2. Yes, occasionally
3. Yes, frequently

Now, I would like to move to the subject of your relationships with friends, relatives and other people in the village.

18. How many close friends in the village do you have these days? These are people you feel at ease with, can talk to about private matters, or call on for help. (If zero, go to question 20)

19. How many times per month (per year) do you visit your friends within this village?

1.

(Times per month)

2.

(Times per year)

20. How many relatives in the village do you have? (If zero, go to question 22)

21. How many times per month (per year) do you visit your relatives within this village?

1.

(Times per month)

2.

(Times per year)

22. How many times per month (per year) do you visit your relatives and friends outside the village?

1.

(Times per month)

2.

(Times per year)

23. How many times per month (per year) do you get together with people in this village who do not live in your household to have food or drink, either in their home, your home or in a public place?

1.

(Times per month)

2.

(Times per year)

24. Approximately, how many times per month (per year) do you and/ or your household members go to the temple/ church/ shrine?

You:
(Times per month / year)

Household members:
(Times per month / year)

25. What proportion of social events in your community would you attend? For example wedding ceremonies, new house celebrations, and funerals? (100% means you would attend every social events occurring in this village. Show card 2 presents the percentage scale)

0%

100%

%

26. Do you participate in any communal activities, in which people come together to do some work for the benefit of the community?

1. Yes: How many times a year? _____

2. No

27. Does anyone else in your household participate in any communal activities, in which people come together to do some work for the benefit of the community?

1. Yes: How many times a year? _____

2. No

3. Don't know/ Not sure

28. Does this village have community meetings/ assemblies (both formal and informal)?

1. Yes, How many times a year? _____

2. No (Go to question 30)

3. Don't know/Not sure (Go to question 30)

29. What proportion do you generally attend the community meetings? (100% means you would attend every community meetings. Show card 2 presents the percentage scale)

0%

100%

_____ %

The next question will ask about information and communication in this community.

30. What are your three main sources of information about local government policies and activities?

(From this show card –show card 3-the respondents will be asked to select three answers respectively by stating 1, 2 and 3 where 1 means the most effective source of information and 2, 3 are the second and the third.)

_____ Relatives, friends and neighbours

_____ Community bulletin board

_____ Local market

_____ Community or local newspaper

_____ National Newspaper

_____ Radio

_____ Television

_____ Groups or associations

_____ Business or work associations

_____ Political associates

_____ Community leaders

_____ An agent of the government

_____ NGOs

_____ Internet

The following questions ask your opinion and experience about the differences in this community.

31. Do you think this community has a significant difference between people such as differences in economic wealth, social status and ethnicity?

1. Yes
2. No (go to question 36)

32. How many times per month (per year) do you have a meaningful conversation with people in this village who are of a...

A. different ethnic or linguistic background/race/caste/tribe to you?

_____ (Times per month / year)

B. different economic status to you? _____ (Times per month / year)

C. different social status to you? _____ (Times per month / year)

D. different religious group to you? _____ (Times per month / year)

33. In your opinion, do any of these differences cause problems in the community?

1. Yes
2. No (Go to question 36)

34. I would like you to indicate to what extent each difference causes problems.
(Show card 4 presents the degree to which each difference causes problem)

	1 not at all 2 some 3 a lot		
1. Differences in education	1	2	3
2. Differences in landholding	1	2	3
3. Differences in wealth/material possessions	1	2	3
4. Differences in social status	1	2	3
5. Differences between men and women	1	2	3
6. Differences younger and older generations	1	2	3
7. Differences between long-term and recent residents	1	2	3
8. Differences in political party affiliations	1	2	3
9. Differences in religious beliefs	1	2	3
10. Differences in ethnic or linguistic background/race/caste/tribe	1	2	3
11. Other differences (Please describe) _____	1	2	3

35. What forms have these problems taken in the community in the last 12 months?

36. Have there been situations in this village that people get together to complain, claim, or make a petition for something benefiting the community against the government officials or political leaders?

1. Yes: How many times in the last 5 years? _____
2. No (Go to question 38)
3. Don't know/Not sure (Go to question 38)

37. Related to the previous question, in your opinion, how successful have these actions been in resolving the situation?

1. Very successful
2. Moderately successful
3. Not at all successful
4. Don't know yet, is still going on

I would like to know your opinion of different scenarios which may occur in the community.

38. If you suddenly needed to borrow a small amount of money (enough to pay for expenses for your household for one week), are there people beyond your immediate household and close relatives in this community to whom you could turn and who would be willing to provide this money?

1. Definitely
2. Probably
3. Definitely not

39. If a community project does not directly benefit you but has benefits for many others in the village, would you contribute time to the project?

1. Will not contribute time
2. Will contribute some time
3. Will contribute as much time as needed

40. If a community project does not directly benefit you but has benefits for many others in the village, would you contribute money to the project?

1. Will not contribute money
2. Will contribute some money
3. Will contribute as much money as you can afford

41. If there were a problem that affected the entire village, for instance a crop failure, a forest fire, excess garbage in this community, how likely is it that people will cooperate to try to solve the problem?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Very unlikely

42. Suppose you and your family have to travel away for a few days in case of emergency, who is the person you would ask to look after your fields/livestock/houses? (Please answer only one)

1. Relative
2. Neighbour
3. Friend
4. Person who you hire temporarily
5. Other (describe): _____

43. Are you directly involved in tourism?

- | | |
|--|-------|
| 1. Yes, in what way? (tick all that apply) | 2. No |
| ____ Providing accommodation | |
| ____ Providing transportation | |
| ____ Supplying local products to tour operators | |
| ____ Selling local products to tourists | |
| ____ Being employed in tourism industry | |
| ____ Being a local guide or porter | |
| ____ Performing cultural show | |
| ____ Other forms of involvement (describe) _____ | |

44. To what extent do you develop skills through your involvement in tourism?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not at all

45. Are there any other members of your household involved in tourism?

1. Yes (Indicate number of involved people in relevant answers)
2. No

____ Providing accommodation

____ Providing transportation

____ Supplying local products to tour operators

____ Selling local products to tourists

____ Being employed in tourism industry

____ Being a local guide or porter

____ Performing cultural show

____ Other forms of involvement (describe) _____

46. What would you like to see happen to the number of tourists who come to this community each year?

1. Increase numbers
2. Decrease numbers
3. Stay the same

47. Why do you say that?

48. What type of tourism if any would you like to see developing in this community?

49. Have you personally been involved in tourism planning and management in this community?

1. Yes, in what way?

2. No, Go to question 66

50. What motivated you to participate?

51. In your opinion, are there any problems associated with tourism development in this community?

1. Yes, what:

2. No

Now, I would like to ask some questions about tourism in this community. I am going to read out a number of statements, I would like you to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each. (Show card 1 will be presented)

	1 Disagree strongly 2 Disagree somewhat 3 Neither agree or disagree 4 Agree somewhat 5 Agree strongly				
52. I can participate in tourism development in this community if I want to.	1	2	3	4	5
53. I feel local people have an influence in decision making about tourism development in this community.	1	2	3	4	5
54. Tourism activities in this community have disturbed our local way of life.	1	2	3	4	5
55. I am proud that tourists want to come to my community.	1	2	3	4	5
56. The presence of tourists is having a negative effect on young people's behaviour.	1	2	3	4	5
57. I enjoy interacting with tourists.	1	2	3	4	5
58. Tourism generates more economic benefits than costs for my community.	1	2	3	4	5
59. Outside operators have too much control over tourism in this community.	1	2	3	4	5
60. Tourism has improved the basic infrastructure in my community.	1	2	3	4	5
61. Tourism assists cultural conservation in this community.	1	2	3	4	5
62. Tourism in my community doesn't benefit me.	1	2	3	4	5
63. Tourism improves the well-being of my household.	1	2	3	4	5
64. There is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism in this community.	1	2	3	4	5
65. Tourism leads to environmental degradation in this area.	1	2	3	4	5
66. Overall, I am satisfied with tourism development in this community.	1	2	3	4	5

Finally, I need to ask a couple of demographic questions to help me analyse the results.

67. How old are you? : _____ Years

68. Gender: 1. Male 2. Female

69. What is your occupation?

70. What is an average household's income per month (per year)?

_____ Baht per month/ per year

=====

This is the end of the survey. Thank you for your participation.

Appendix C

The constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 2007

(partially)

CHAPTER V: Directive Principles of Fundamental State Policies

Part 10: Public Participation Policy

Section 87: The State shall act in compliance with the public participation policy as follows:

- (1) Encouraging public participation in the determination of public policy and the making of economic and social development plans both at the national and local level;
- (2) Encouraging and supporting public participation to make decisions on politics and the making of economic and social development plans and the provision of public services;
- (3) Encouraging and supporting public participation in the examination of the exercise of State power at all levels in the form of professions or occupational organisations or other forms;
- (4) Strengthening the political power of the public, and preparing the laws establishing a civil political development fund for facilitating the communities to organize public activities and for supporting networks of groups of people to express opinion and requirements of the communities in the localities;
- (5) Supporting and providing education to the public related to the development of political and public administration under the democratic regime of government with the King as Head of State, and encouraging the public to exercise their rights to vote honestly and uprightly.

In providing public participation under this section, regard shall be given to the approximate proportion between women and men.

CHAPTER III: Rights and Liberties of Thai people

Part 12: Community Rights

Section 66: Persons assembling as to be a community, local community or traditional local community shall have the right to conserve or restore their customs, local wisdom, arts or good culture of their community and of the nation and participate in the management,

maintenance and use of natural resources, the environment and biological diversity in a balanced and sustainable fashion.

Section 67: The right of a person to participate with the State and communities in the preservation and exploitation of natural resources and biological diversity and in the protection, promotion and conservation of the quality of the environment for usual and consistent survival in the environment which is not hazardous to health and sanitary condition, welfare or quality of life, shall be protected appropriately.

Any project or activity which may seriously affect the quality of the environment, natural resources and biological diversity shall not be permitted, unless its impacts on the quality of the environment and on the health of people in the communities and has been studied and evaluated and consultation with the public and interested parties have been organized, and opinions of an independent organisation, consisting of representatives from private environmental and health organisations and from higher education institutions providing studies in the field of environment, natural resources or health, have been obtained prior to the operation of such project or activity.

The right of a community to sue a government agency, State agency, State enterprise, local government organisation or other State authority who is a person judged to be suitable to perform the duties under this section shall be protected.

Appendix D

Crosstabs tables showing differences between native and migrant respondents in Koh Samet

Difference in participating in communal activities

BorninVillage * communalActivities Crosstabulation

			communalActivities		Total
			yes	no	
BorninVillage	born	Count	16	2	18
		% of Total	22.9%	2.9%	25.7%
	not born	Count	47	5	52
		% of Total	67.1%	7.1%	74.3%
Total		Count	63	7	70
		% of Total	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.033 ^a	1	.855	1.000	.583
Continuity Correction ^b	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.033	1	.857		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	.033	1	.856		
N of Valid Cases	70				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.80.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.855 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'I can participate in tourism development in this community if I want to'

BorninVillage * Q52 Crosstabulation

		Q52					Total
		disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
BorninVillage born	Count	0	8	8	0	2	18
	% of Total	.0%	11.4%	11.4%	.0%	2.9%	25.7%
not born	Count	1	30	16	1	4	52
	% of Total	1.4%	42.9%	22.9%	1.4%	5.7%	74.3%
Total	Count	1	38	24	1	6	70
	% of Total	1.4%	54.3%	34.3%	1.4%	8.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.036 ^a	4	.729
Likelihood Ratio	2.502	4	.644
Linear-by-Linear Association	.790	1	.374
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 6 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .26.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.729 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism activities in this community have disturbed local way of life'

BorninVillage * Q54 Crosstabulation

		Q54					Total
		disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
BorninVillage born	Count	1	12	2	3	0	18
	% of Total	1.4%	17.1%	2.9%	4.3%	.0%	25.7%
not born	Count	2	11	28	10	1	52
	% of Total	2.9%	15.7%	40.0%	14.3%	1.4%	74.3%
Total	Count	3	23	30	13	1	70
	% of Total	4.3%	32.9%	42.9%	18.6%	1.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.612 ^a	4	.006
Likelihood Ratio	15.405	4	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.743	1	.017
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 5 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .26.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.006 < 0.05$; this means there is difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism has improved the basic infrastructure in my community'

BorninVillage * Q60 Crosstabulation

		Q60					Total
		disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
BorninVillage born	Count	1	2	6	7	2	18
	% of Total	1.4%	2.9%	8.6%	10.0%	2.9%	25.7%
not born	Count	1	6	33	12	0	52
	% of Total	1.4%	8.6%	47.1%	17.1%	.0%	74.3%
Total	Count	2	8	39	19	2	70
	% of Total	2.9%	11.4%	55.7%	27.1%	2.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.808 ^a	4	.044
Likelihood Ratio	9.541	4	.049
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.176	1	.140
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 6 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .51.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.044 < 0.05$; this means there is difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism assists cultural conservation in this community'

BorninVillage * Q61 Crosstabulation

			Q61				Total
			disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	
BorninVillage	born	Count	3	7	6	2	18
		% of Total	4.3%	10.0%	8.6%	2.9%	25.7%
	not born	Count	7	28	17	0	52
		% of Total	10.0%	40.0%	24.3%	.0%	74.3%
Total		Count	10	35	23	2	70
		% of Total	14.3%	50.0%	32.9%	2.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.474 ^a	3	.091
Likelihood Ratio	6.159	3	.104
Linear-by-Linear Association	.967	1	.325
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .51.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.091 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism improves the well-being of my household'

BorninVillage * Q63 Crosstabulation

			Q63				Total
			disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
BorninVillage	born	Count	0	0	4	14	18
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	5.7%	20.0%	25.7%
	not born	Count	1	6	25	20	52
		% of Total	1.4%	8.6%	35.7%	28.6%	74.3%
Total		Count	1	6	29	34	70
		% of Total	1.4%	8.6%	41.4%	48.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.836 ^a	3	.032
Likelihood Ratio	10.468	3	.015
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.039	1	.005
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 4 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .26.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.032 < 0.05$; this means there is difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'There is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism in this community'

BorninVillage * Q64 Crosstabulation

		Q64					Total
		disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
BorninVillage born	Count	1	2	7	6	2	18
	% of Total	1.4%	2.9%	10.0%	8.6%	2.9%	25.7%
not born	Count	0	1	21	28	2	52
	% of Total	.0%	1.4%	30.0%	40.0%	2.9%	74.3%
Total	Count	1	3	28	34	4	70
	% of Total	1.4%	4.3%	40.0%	48.6%	5.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.924 ^a	4	.094
Likelihood Ratio	7.264	4	.123
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.702	1	.192
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 6 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .26.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.094 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism leads to environmental degradation in this area'

BorninVillage * Q65 Crosstabulation

		Q65					Total
		disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
BorninVillage born	Count	1	3	10	4	0	18
	% of Total	1.4%	4.3%	14.3%	5.7%	.0%	25.7%
not born	Count	2	6	28	13	3	52
	% of Total	2.9%	8.6%	40.0%	18.6%	4.3%	74.3%
Total	Count	3	9	38	17	3	70
	% of Total	4.3%	12.9%	54.3%	24.3%	4.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.453 ^a	4	.835
Likelihood Ratio	2.179	4	.703
Linear-by-Linear Association	.983	1	.322
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 6 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .77.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.835 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Overall, I am satisfied with tourism development in this community'

BorninVillage * Q66 Crosstabulation

		Q66					Total
		disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
BorninVillage born	Count	0	3	9	5	1	18
	% of Total	.0%	4.3%	12.9%	7.1%	1.4%	25.7%
not born	Count	2	6	33	11	0	52
	% of Total	2.9%	8.6%	47.1%	15.7%	.0%	74.3%
Total	Count	2	9	42	16	1	70
	% of Total	2.9%	12.9%	60.0%	22.9%	1.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.515 ^a	4	.341
Likelihood Ratio	4.830	4	.305
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.038	1	.308
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 6 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .26.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.341 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Appendix E

Crosstabs tables showing differences between gender of respondents in Koh Samet and Mae Kam Pong

Differences between gender of respondents in Koh Samet

Difference in the statement 'I can participate in tourism development in this community if I want to'

gender * Q52 Crosstabulation

			Q52					Total
			disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	0	14	10	0	3	27
		% of Total	.0%	20.0%	14.3%	.0%	4.3%	38.6%
	female	Count	1	24	14	1	3	43
		% of Total	1.4%	34.3%	20.0%	1.4%	4.3%	61.4%
Total		Count	1	38	24	1	6	70
		% of Total	1.4%	54.3%	34.3%	1.4%	8.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.732 ^a	4	.785
Likelihood Ratio	2.416	4	.660
Linear-by-Linear Association	.429	1	.513
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 6 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .39.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.785 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism activities in this community have disturbed our local way of life'

gender * Q54 Crosstabulation

			Q54					Total
			disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender male	Count		1	8	11	6	1	27
	% of Total		1.4%	11.4%	15.7%	8.6%	1.4%	38.6%
female	Count		2	15	19	7	0	43
	% of Total		2.9%	21.4%	27.1%	10.0%	.0%	61.4%
Total	Count		3	23	30	13	1	70
	% of Total		4.3%	32.9%	42.9%	18.6%	1.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.128 ^a	4	.712
Likelihood Ratio	2.437	4	.656
Linear-by-Linear Association	.977	1	.323
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 4 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .39.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.712 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism has improved the basic infrastructure in this community'

gender * Q60 Crosstabulation

			Q60					Total
			disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	1	4	15	6	1	27
		% of Total	1.4%	5.7%	21.4%	8.6%	1.4%	38.6%
	female	Count	1	4	24	13	1	43
		% of Total	1.4%	5.7%	34.3%	18.6%	1.4%	61.4%
Total		Count	2	8	39	19	2	70
		% of Total	2.9%	11.4%	55.7%	27.1%	2.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.054 ^a	4	.902
Likelihood Ratio	1.047	4	.903
Linear-by-Linear Association	.507	1	.476
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 6 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .77.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.902 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism assists cultural conservation in this community'

gender * Q61 Crosstabulation

			Q61				Total
			disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	
gender	male	Count	5	18	4	0	27
		% of Total	7.1%	25.7%	5.7%	.0%	38.6%
	female	Count	5	17	19	2	43
		% of Total	7.1%	24.3%	27.1%	2.9%	61.4%
Total		Count	10	35	23	2	70
		% of Total	14.3%	50.0%	32.9%	2.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.604 ^a	3	.035
Likelihood Ratio	9.743	3	.021
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.444	1	.011
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .77.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.035 < 0.05$; this means there is difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism improves the well-being of my household'

gender * Q63 Crosstabulation

			Q63				Total
			disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	0	3	11	13	27
		% of Total	.0%	4.3%	15.7%	18.6%	38.6%
	female	Count	1	3	18	21	43
		% of Total	1.4%	4.3%	25.7%	30.0%	61.4%
Total		Count	1	6	29	34	70
		% of Total	1.4%	8.6%	41.4%	48.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.965 ^a	3	.810
Likelihood Ratio	1.303	3	.728
Linear-by-Linear Association	.000	1	.992
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 4 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .39.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.810 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'There is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism in this community'

gender * Q64 Crosstabulation

			Q64					Total
			disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	0	1	13	11	2	27
		% of Total	.0%	1.4%	18.6%	15.7%	2.9%	38.6%
	female	Count	1	2	15	23	2	43
		% of Total	1.4%	2.9%	21.4%	32.9%	2.9%	61.4%
Total		Count	1	3	28	34	4	70
		% of Total	1.4%	4.3%	40.0%	48.6%	5.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.168 ^a	4	.705
Likelihood Ratio	2.507	4	.643
Linear-by-Linear Association	.008	1	.928
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 6 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .39.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.705 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism leads to environmental degradation in this area'

gender * Q65 Crosstabulation

			Q65					Total
			disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	2	3	13	7	2	27
		% of Total	2.9%	4.3%	18.6%	10.0%	2.9%	38.6%
	female	Count	1	6	25	10	1	43
		% of Total	1.4%	8.6%	35.7%	14.3%	1.4%	61.4%
Total		Count	3	9	38	17	3	70
		% of Total	4.3%	12.9%	54.3%	24.3%	4.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.457 ^a	4	.652
Likelihood Ratio	2.397	4	.663
Linear-by-Linear Association	.071	1	.790
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 5 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.16.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.652 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Overall, I am satisfied with tourism development in this community'

gender * Q66 Crosstabulation

			Q66					Total
			disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	1	4	19	3	0	27
		% of Total	1.4%	5.7%	27.1%	4.3%	.0%	38.6%
	female	Count	1	5	23	13	1	43
		% of Total	1.4%	7.1%	32.9%	18.6%	1.4%	61.4%
Total		Count	2	9	42	16	1	70
		% of Total	2.9%	12.9%	60.0%	22.9%	1.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.310 ^a	4	.366
Likelihood Ratio	4.928	4	.295
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.758	1	.097
N of Valid Cases	70		

a. 5 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .39.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.366 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Differences between gender of respondents in Mae Kam Pong

Difference in the statement 'I can participate in tourism development in this community if I want to'

gender * Q52 Crosstabulation

			Q52			Total
			neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	3	6	8	17
		% of Total	5.0%	10.0%	13.3%	28.3%
	female	Count	0	23	20	43
		% of Total	.0%	38.3%	33.3%	71.7%
Total		Count	3	29	28	60
		% of Total	5.0%	48.3%	46.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.423 ^a	2	.015
Likelihood Ratio	8.456	2	.015
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.021	1	.312
N of Valid Cases	60		

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .85.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.015 < 0.05$; this means there is difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism activities in this community have disturbed our local way of life'

gender * Q54 Crosstabulation

			Q54			Total
			disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neither agree or disagree	
gender	male	Count	9	7	1	17
		% of Total	15.0%	11.7%	1.7%	28.3%
	female	Count	29	14	0	43
		% of Total	48.3%	23.3%	.0%	71.7%
Total		Count	38	21	1	60
		% of Total	63.3%	35.0%	1.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.192 ^a	2	.203
Likelihood Ratio	3.192	2	.203
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.845	1	.174
N of Valid Cases	60		

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .28.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.203 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism has improved the basic infrastructure in this community'

gender * Q60 Crosstabulation

			Q60			Total
			neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	0	12	5	17
		% of Total	.0%	20.0%	8.3%	28.3%
	female	Count	1	18	24	43
		% of Total	1.7%	30.0%	40.0%	71.7%
Total		Count	1	30	29	60
		% of Total	1.7%	50.0%	48.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.163 ^a	2	.125
Likelihood Ratio	4.486	2	.106
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.461	1	.117
N of Valid Cases	60		

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .28.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.125 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism assists cultural conservation in this community'

gender * Q61 Crosstabulation

			Q61		Total
			agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	0	17	17
		% of Total	.0%	28.3%	28.3%
	female	Count	3	40	43
		% of Total	5.0%	66.7%	71.7%
Total		Count	3	57	60
		% of Total	5.0%	95.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.248 ^a	1	.264	.551	.361
Continuity Correction ^b	.212	1	.645		
Likelihood Ratio	2.061	1	.151		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.228	1	.268		
N of Valid Cases	60				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .85.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.264 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism improves the well-being of my household'

gender * Q63 Crosstabulation

			Q63			Total
			neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	4	9	4	17
		% of Total	6.7%	15.0%	6.7%	28.3%
	female	Count	10	14	19	43
		% of Total	16.7%	23.3%	31.7%	71.7%
Total		Count	14	23	23	60
		% of Total	23.3%	38.3%	38.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.677 ^a	2	.262
Likelihood Ratio	2.735	2	.255
Linear-by-Linear Association	.883	1	.347
N of Valid Cases	60		

a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.97.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.262 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'There is a fair and equitable distribution of benefits from tourism in this community'

gender * Q64 Crosstabulation

			Q64			Total
			neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	5	3	9	17
		% of Total	8.3%	5.0%	15.0%	28.3%
	female	Count	5	11	27	43
		% of Total	8.3%	18.3%	45.0%	71.7%
Total		Count	10	14	36	60
		% of Total	16.7%	23.3%	60.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.838 ^a	2	.242
Likelihood Ratio	2.630	2	.269
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.580	1	.209
N of Valid Cases	60		

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.83.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.242 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Tourism leads to environmental degradation in this area'

gender * Q65 Crosstabulation

			Q65		Total
			disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	
gender	male	Count	16	1	17
		% of Total	26.7%	1.7%	28.3%
	female	Count	41	2	43
		% of Total	68.3%	3.3%	71.7%
Total		Count	57	3	60
		% of Total	95.0%	5.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.039 ^a	1	.844	1.000	.639
Continuity Correction ^b	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.038	1	.846		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	.038	1	.845		
N of Valid Cases	60				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .85.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.844 > 0.05$; this means there is no difference in this issue.

Difference in the statement 'Overall, I am satisfied with tourism development in this community'

gender * Q66 Crosstabulation

			Q66			Total
			neither agree or disagree	agree somewhat	agree strongly	
gender	male	Count	4	3	10	17
		% of Total	6.7%	5.0%	16.7%	28.3%
	female	Count	2	17	24	43
		% of Total	3.3%	28.3%	40.0%	71.7%
Total		Count	6	20	34	60
		% of Total	10.0%	33.3%	56.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.112 ^a	2	.047
Likelihood Ratio	5.788	2	.055
Linear-by-Linear Association	.672	1	.412
N of Valid Cases	60		

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.70.

The Pearson Chi-Square test $0.047 < 0.05$; this means there is difference in this issue.